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INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

Vol. XII

MARCH, 1916

No. 1

The First Public Land Surveys in Indiana; Freeman's Lines

BY GEORGE R. WILSON, Civil Engineer.

The earliest land claims about Vincennes rested on a reputed grant by the Indians. According to a memorial to congress, filed by the inhabitants of Vincennes, the Indians of the Wabash, at a council in 1742, ceded to them all the land from Point Coupes to the mouth of White river. The record of the treaty long remained with the recorder of deeds at Vincennes, but at the beginning of the French and Indian War an absconding officer is said to have taken the deed away with him. The petitioners claimed that the Indians had often ratified this gift, afterward extending it forty leagues west and thirty leagues east of the Wabash. The congressional committee rejected the claim, on the ground that if there were such a grant, it had been made to the French government, and in time, had passed to the United States under the treaties of 1763 and 1783.¹

This claim was, in a measure, at least, recognized when the deed to the Wabash Land Company was made, for in that deed the land was excepted. The lines and corners of this grant are known as the "Freeman Lines and Corners."

The "Freeman Lines and Corners" have been subjects of a great deal of comment recently. They are lines run, and corners established by Thomas Freeman, a surveyor, in 1802-3, when Indiana was a territory. He surveyed a tract of land that was

¹ *American State Papers, Public Lands* I, 26; *Esarey's Indiana*, page 132.

"excepted" from a very large body of land which a company of men bought, or attempted to buy from the Indians in Illinois and Indiana. The "excepted" tract is known as the Vincennes Tract.

To understand the situation fully one must keep in mind that Vincennes is a very old city; that there were "land grabbers" in pioneer days; that Wild Cat creek empties into the Wabash river near Lafayette, Indiana; that Point Coupee is on the Wabash river about six miles south of Merom, in Sullivan county, Indiana; and that Wabash river was once written "Ouabache river."

Companies of men who promoted enterprises, settlements, etc., were formed in the East and operated in the Northwest Territory. Among them may be mentioned the "Illinois Land Company" and the "Wabash Land Company."

On March 21, 1775, Governor Dunmore, of Virginia, issued a proclamation ordering that all vacant land of His Majesty within the colony of Virginia, "be surveyed in districts and laid out in lots of from 100 to 1,000 acres, and put up at public sale."

In the year 1775, after the expedition of Lord Dunmore against the Shawnees, Louis Viviat, a merchant of the Illinois Country, commenced a negotiation with the Piankeshaw Indians for the purchase of two large districts of country lying upon the borders of the river Wabash. Viviat acted as agent of an association of individuals which was denominated the "Wabash Land Company;" and at Post Vincennes, October 18, 1775, he obtained a deed from eleven Piankeshaw chiefs. The deed is a sample of pioneer conveyances, or treaties, is full of historical interest, a guide to land values, and a record of the business sagacity of the land grabbers.

The deed in full reads as follows:²

"To all people to whom these Presents shall come: Know ye, that we, Tabac, or Tobacco, Montour, La Grand Conette, Ouaouaijao, Tabac, junior, La Mouche Noire, or the Black Fly, Le Maringouin, or Mosquito, Le Petit Castor, or the Little Beaver, Kiesquibichias, Grelot, senior, and Grelot, junior, chiefs and sachems of the several tribes of Piankeshaw nation of Indians, and being, and effectually representing, all the several tribes of the Piankeshaw Indians, send greeting:

"Whereas Louis Viviat, of the Illinois country, merchant, one of the grantees hereinafter named, as well for himself, as on the parts and behalfs of the several other grantees herein also after named, did, at several conferences publicly held with us, the said chiefs and sachems, at the towns

² Dillon, *Historical Notes of the North-Western Territory*, 1843, pages 118 to 123.

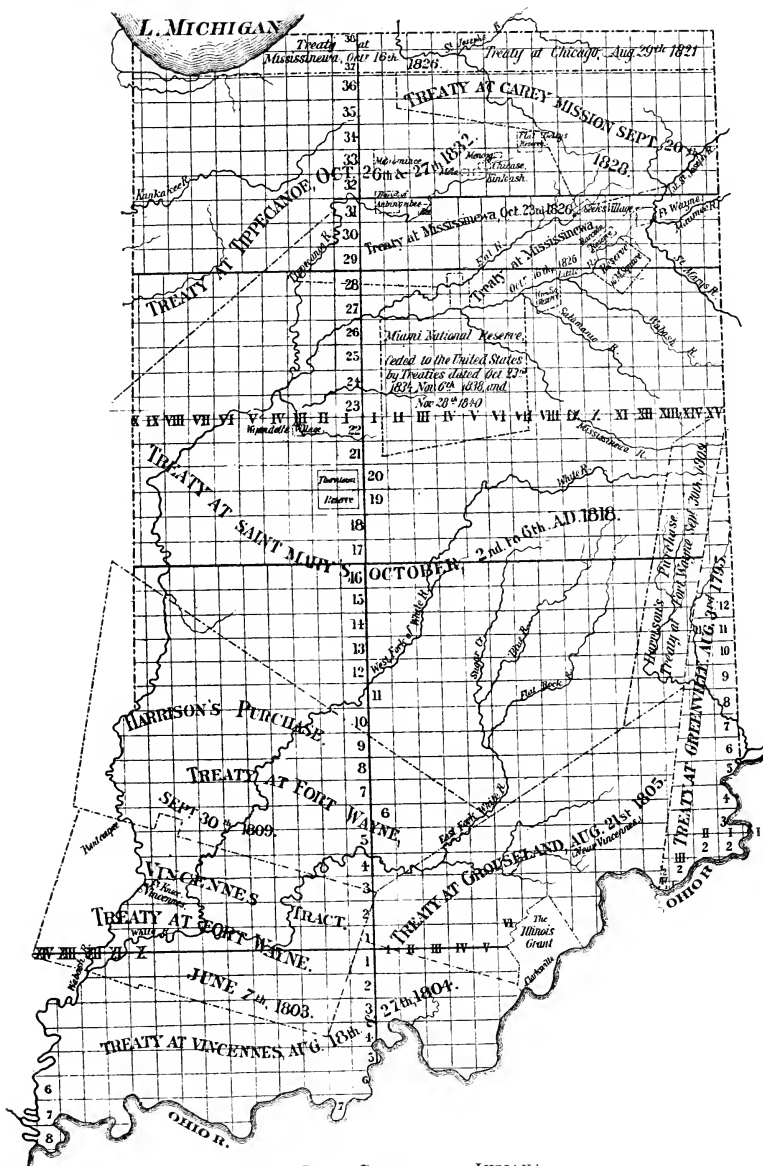
and villages Post Saint Vincent and Vermillion, treat and confer for the purchase of certain tracts of land belonging and appertaining unto us, and to the several tribes of our nation, whom we represent :

"And whereas we, the said chiefs and sachems, have deliberately and maturely considered, for ourselves and our posterities, and consulted with the other natives of our several tribes, respecting the proposals made as aforesaid to us, the said chiefs and sachems, by the said Louis Viviat, on behalf of himself and others: And whereas we, the said chiefs and sachems, as well as all the other natives of the several tribes of our nation, are fully satisfied and contented, for the consideration hereinafter mentioned, to grant and confirm unto the said Louis Viviat, and to the other grantees hereinafter mentioned, the several quantities and tracts of lands hereinafter bounded and described,

"Now, know ye, therefore, that we, the said chiefs and sachems of the Piankeshaw nation aforesaid, in full and public council assembled, at the town or village of Post Saint Vincent aforesaid, for and in consideration of the sum of five shillings, to us in hand paid by the said Louis Viviat, and for and in consideration of the following goods and merchandise, to us, the said Tabac, or Tobacco, Montour, La Grand Conette, Onaouaijao, Tabac, junior, La Mouche Noire, or the Black Fly, Le Maringouin, or Musquito, Le Petit Castor, or the Little Beaver, Kiesquibichias, Grelot, senior, and Grelot, junior, for the use of the several tribes of our nation, well and truly delivered in full council aforesaid, that is to say: "four hundred blankets, twenty-two pieces of stroud, two hundred and fifty shirts, twelve gross of star gartering, one hundred and twenty pieces of ribbon, twenty-four pounds of vermilion, eighteen pairs velvet laced housings, one piece of malton, fifty-two fusils, thirty-five dozen large buckhorn-handle knives, forty dozen couteau knives, five hundred pounds of brasskettles, ten thousand gunflints, six hundred pounds of gunpowder, two thousand pounds of lead, four hundred pounds of tobacco, forty bushels of salt, three thousand pounds of flour, three horses; also, the following quantities of silverware, viz: eleven very large armbands, forty wristbands, six wholemoons, six halfmoons, nine ear-wheels, forty-six large crosses, twenty-nine hairpipes, sixty pairs of ear-bobs, twenty dozen small crosses, twenty dozen nose crosses, and one hundred and ten dozen brooches, the receipt whereof we do hereby acknowledge, have granted, bargained, sold, aliened, released, enfeoffed, ratified, and fully confirmed, and by these Presents do grant, bargain, sell, alien, release, enfeoff, ratify, and fully confirm, unto the said Louis Viviat, the right honorable John, Earl of Dunmore, governor of the colony and dominion of Virginia; the honorable John Murray, son of the said earl, Moses Franks and Jacob Franks, of the city of London, in the kingdom of Great Britain, Esquires; Thomas Johnson, jr., Esquire, attorney at law, and John Davidson, merchant, both of the city of Annapolis, in the province of Maryland; William Russell, Esquire, Matthew Ridley, Robert Christie, sen., and Robert Christie, jr., of Baltimore town, in the said province of Maryland, merchants; Peter Campbell, of Piscataway, in Maryland, merchant; William Geddes, of Newtown Chester, in Maryland,

Esq., collector of His Majesty's customs; David Franks, merchant, and Moses Franks, attorney at law, both of the city of Philadelphia, in the province of Pennsylvania; William Murray, and Daniel Murray, of the Illinois Country, merchants; Nicholas St. Martin, and Joseph Page, of the same place, gentlemen; Francis Perthuis, late of Quebec city, in Canada, but now of Post St. Vincent aforesaid, gentlemen; their heirs and assigns, equally to be divided, or to his most sacred Majesty George the Third, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, and so forth, his heirs and successors, for the use, benefit, and behoof of all the said several above named grantees, their heirs and assigns, in severally as aforesaid: (by whichever of these tenures they may most legally hold the same:) the two several tracts or parcels of lands, hereinafter bounded and described, viz:

"One tract or parcel of land, situate, lying, and being on both sides of the Ouabache river, beginning at the mouth of a rivulet called Riviere du Chat, or Cat River, where it empties itself into the Ouabache river aforesaid, being about fifty-two leagues distant from the above Post St. Vincent aforesaid; thence down the Ouabache, by the several courses thereof, to a place called Point Coupee, (about twelve leagues above Post St. Vincent,) being forty leagues, or thereabouts, in length on the said river Ouabache, from the place of beginning, with forty leagues in width or breadth on the east side, and thirty leagues in breadth or width on the west side of the Ouabache river aforesaid; to be continued along from the place of beginning to Point Coupee aforesaid. And also one other tract or parcel of land, situated, lying, and being on both sides of the Ouabache river aforesaid, beginning from the mouth of White river, where it empties itself into the Ouabache river, (about twelve leagues below Post St. Vincent,) thence down the Ouabache river, by the several courses thereof, until it empties itself into the Ohio river, being from the said White river to the Ohio, fifty-three leagues in length, or thereabouts, be the same more or less, with forty leagues in width or breadth on the east side, and thirty leagues in width or breadth on the west side of the Ouabache river aforesaid; (the intermediate space of twenty-four leagues, or thereabouts, between Point Coupee and the mouth of the White river aforesaid, being reserved for the use of the inhabitants of Post St. Vincent aforesaid, with the same width or breadth on both sides of the Ouabache river, as is hereby granted in the two other several tracts of land above bounded and described.) the aforesaid two several tracts of land hereby bargained and sold, from the first place of beginning to the Ohio river, consisting together of Ninety-three leagues in length on the Ouabache river, and on both sides thereof inclusive, seventy leagues in width or breadth, and that during its whole course as aforementioned, exclusive of, and beside, the reservation of twenty-four leagues in length, and seventy leagues in width or breadth, for the inhabitants of Post St. Vincent, reserved as aforesaid. And the said chiefs and sachems, for themselves, and for the several other natives of their nation, whom they fully and effectually represent, and their and every of their posterities, do hereby guaranty, engage, promise, covenant, and agree, to and with the several



above-named grantees, their heirs, and assigns, and every of them, that they, the said several above named grantees, their heirs and assigns, and every of them, shall and may, at all time, for ever hereafter have and enjoy the full, free, and undisturbed navigation of the said Ouabache river, from its confluence with the Ohio to its source; as well as of all the other several rivers running through the lands hereby bargained and sold, any thing herein contained to the contrary, or supposed to be, in any wise, notwithstanding: And also all minerals, ores, trees, woods, under-woods, waters, watercourses, profits, commodities, advantages, rights, liberties, privileges, hereditaments, and appurtenances, whatsoever, to the said two several tracts of land belonging, or in any wise appertaining: And also the reversion and reversions, remainder and remainders, rents, issues, and profits thereof, and of every part and parcel thereof; and all the estate, right, title, interest, use, property, possession, claim, and demand of them, the said Tabac, or Tobacco, etc., chiefs and sachems aforesaid, and of all and every other person and persons whatsoever, of or belonging to the said Piankeshaw nation of Indians, of, into, and out of the premises, and every part and parcel thereof; to have and to hold the said two several tracts or parcels of land, and all and singular the said granted and bargained premises, with the appurtenances, unto the said Louis Viviat, etc., their heirs or assigns, for ever, in severalty, or unto his majesty, his heirs, and successors, to and for the only use, benefit, and behoof of the said grantees, their heirs and assigns, for ever, as aforesaid.

"And the said Tabac, or Tobacco, etc., for themselves and for all the several tribes of their nation, and all and every other nation, or nations, tributaries, and dependents on the said Piankeshaw Indians, and their, and every of their, posterities, the said several tracts of land and premises, and every part and parcel thereof, against them the said several above-named chiefs and sachems, and the said Piankeshaw Indians, and their tributaries and dependents, and all and every of their posterities, unto all the severally above-named grantees, their heirs, and assigns, in severalty, or unto his said majesty, his heirs, and successors, to and for the only use, benefit, and behoof, of the said grantees, their heirs, and assigns, in severalty as aforesaid, shall and will warrant, and for ever defend, by these Presents."

This deed, which conveyed to the purchasers about 37,497,600 acres, was signed by the Indians, attested by a number of the inhabitants at Vincennes, and subsequently registered in the office of a notary public at Kaskaskia, Illinois. The commencement and progress of the Revolutionary War frustrated the schemes of the Wabash Land Company, and prevented it from planting English settlements in the territory to the possession of which they had acquired only an imperfect claim.

The agents of the company applied to the American Congress

for a confirmation of a part of the claim, in the years 1781, 1791, 1797, 1804 and 1810; but all of these applications were rejected.³

That part excepted by this Indian deed and admitted to have a French, or white title, has become known as the "Vincennes Tract." It contained about 1,600,000 acres. That part of it which was in Indiana had its northeast corner near Orleans. The north line of this old Indian land started at Point Coupee, on the Wabash river, about six miles below Merom, Indiana, and about 39 degrees north latitude. It ran at a right angle to the main trend of the Wabash river between Point Coupee and the mouth of White river. That is, it ran south 78 degrees east, passed near Odon, Indiana, and near Georgia, Indiana, and ended in Section 19, near Orleans, at what is locally known as "Freeman's Corner." (This north boundary line was so surveyed as to place the French settlement, at Carlisle, in Sullivan county, within the "Vincennes Tract.") Surveyor Thomas Freeman ran the lines of this "Vincennes Tract," in 1802-3, and placed a post at the corner not far from the center of Section 19. From this corner the line ran south 12 degrees west, 40 miles, through Orange, Crawford and Perry counties, to a point at a creek in Perry county about $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles due south of the southeast corner of Dubois county, and near Apalona, in Perry county. In going south 12 degrees west, 40 miles, the line ran nearly $12\frac{1}{2}$ miles west of a due south line.⁴ The south line ran from this point, through Perry, Spencer, Dubois, Pike and Gibson counties to the mouth of White river. It passed near the St. Meinrad Monastery. Freeman ran both lines from the river eastward. The east line he ran by going southward from the Orleans corner. He turned the Orleans corner at a right angle, (90 degrees) and passed through what is now Orleans, and between Paoli and Abydel, and near Eckerty, in Crawford county.

In making his survey he was required to cut out some of the underbrush, and in that way opened up forest paths, which, in some places, in time, became trails and finally public roads.

In the Indian treaty the standard of the measurement used was the league. A marine league, in England and America is 18,240 feet, or almost $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Perhaps a water measurement was used because the description was based on the Wabash river. The

³ Dillon's *History of Indiana*, 109; Wilson's *History of Dubois County*, Chapter 7.

⁴ Survey Record 5, page 17, State Auditor's Office.

common league of France was 2.422 miles, and since the treaty was between the French and Indians this measurement may have been employed. A land league is sometimes said to be three statute miles. It seems each country has its own length for a league, and frequently one league for water, another for land, and still another for mail routes, etc., so it appears very indefinite. A league is an itinerary unit not in much use now. It was once used in making treaties with water courses as boundaries, before surveys had been made.

This "Vincennes Tract" was 24 leagues wide, and 70 leagues long. Part of it was in Illinois. Twenty-four leagues along the meanderings of the Wabash proved to be 40 miles when run south 12 degrees west from the Orleans corner.

The American government did not recognize the title, as held by the French and the Wabash Land Company, as sufficient, and proceeded to recognize the claims of the Indians. The government proceeded to buy the land from the Indians direct, and the "Vincennes Tract" being the oldest settled part, was taken under consideration at an early date. Here is where Surveyor Freeman and the Orleans corner come in. The description of the "Vincennes Tract" is obtained through an "exception" made in the Indian treaty of October 18, 1775.⁵ Surveyor Freeman was called upon, in the summer and fall of 1802, to survey the "Vincennes Exception," which has since become known as the "Vincennes Tract."

In the survey the Freeman corner in Section 19 is shown to be 60 miles from the Wabash river, and in Freeman's day he wrote concerning the corner, "very rich level land, timber very large, black oak, hickory, sugar," etc.⁶ In making the survey many notations were made; for example, in the survey of the south line he says he started from the mouth of White river on Sunday. In his record of this survey he says that at 32 miles and 41 chains from the Wabash he crossed an Indian trail. The south line is 59 miles long.

To get a practical idea of what part of Indiana the "Vincennes Tract" embraced, take a large map of Indiana and draw a line from Point Coupee, on the Wabash river, to the Freeman Corner,

⁵ Dillon's *History of Indiana*, 105, 106, 107, 108 and 109.

⁶ Surveyor's book marked "Indiana," 28, State Auditor's Office; Plat Book No. 1, "Records of Surveys," State Auditor's Office, 120.

at Orleans. Then take a carpenter's square, place one blade at the mouth of White river, the other at Orleans, and the corner south of the line between Dubois and Crawford counties. Draw a line around the blades. That part within the lines thus defined represents the Vincennes Tract, which Surveyor Thomas Freeman was employed to survey.⁷

The Freeman Corner, near Orleans, is a corner of three Indian concessions. Extend a line from this corner to the county line between Ripley and Decatur counties and you have located an Indian treaty line. The land of the "Vincennes Tract," which Freeman surveyed, was acquired by the United States June 7, 1803; the land immediately east of the Freeman Corner, at Orleans, was acquired by the treaty of Grouseland, August 21, 1805, and the land immediately north of the Vincennes Tract was acquired by the treaty of Ft. Wayne, September 30, 1809. In making these Indian treaties General William Henry Harrison was the leading agent for the general government.⁸

After the "Vincennes Tract" had been acquired by the extinction of the Indian title, the land was subdivided by government surveyors. Their contracts usually ran by ranges—tracts six miles wide, running from the south side to the north side of the "Vincennes Tract." In their survey records they recorded the location of the Freeman lines, with reference to the last section corners, because these lines bounded their surveys.

On October 15, 1804, Tupper and Stone surveyed into sections that part of the "Vincennes Tract" which lies in the extreme east and around the Freeman Corner, and up to the meridian line. The sections just east of the "Vincennes Tract" and around the Freeman Corner were surveyed by Arthur Henri, June 1, 1806; the same surveyor laid out the sections north of the Freeman Corner under a contract dated November 10, 1810. Thus the sections just west of the meridian line, in the "Vincennes Tract," were the first to be surveyed. They were laid out about two years after the Freeman Corner was established.⁹ The second principal meridian line passed within a half mile of the Freeman Corner. In

⁷ *State Geologist's Report*, 1882; Esarey's *History of Indiana*, 345; Wilson's *History of Dubois County*, 88; Wilson's Wall Map of Dubois County; Records of Indian Treaty Lines; Miscellaneous Record No. 1, State Auditor's Office; Cockrum's *Pioneer History*, 242.

⁸ Cockrum's *History of Indiana*, 241.

⁹ *State Geologist's Report*, 1882.

the surveys made by these surveyors, the Freeman Corner was fairly well tied to the section lines and corners by recorded measurements. However, it is surprising that some stone monument was not put at the corner by the surveyors.

By a system of interpolation, without the use of solar instruments, and without ever being at the corner, my calculations indicate that the Freeman Corner, at Orleans, coincides with 86 degrees, 27.5 minutes west of Greenwich, England, and 38 degrees and 40.5 minutes north latitude.

From a standpoint of historical association the two Freeman Corners in Indiana deserve recognition, really more than state wide, because the other two corners are in Illinois.

The Freeman Corners in Indiana are excellent subjects for centennial markers, or monuments. The monument near Orleans might be constructed so as to face the three Indian concessions. On the side facing the southwest these words could appear:

"THIS INSCRIPTION FACES THE VINCENNES TRACT ACQUIRED FROM THE INDIANS BY TREATY, JUNE 7, 1803."

On the side facing the southeast these words could appear:

"THIS INSCRIPTION FACES THE LAND ACQUIRED FROM THE INDIANS BY TREATY OF GROUSELAND, AUGUST 21, 1805."

On the side facing the north these words could appear:

"THIS INSCRIPTION FACES THE LAND ACQUIRED FROM THE INDIANS BY TREATY OF FT. WAYNE, SEPTEMBER 30, 1809."

The words "Freeman Corner" and any other inscription desired should also appear, to the end that the monument will, in a large measure, explain itself.

Arthur Henri, a government surveyor, also surveyed the Indian treaty line running from the Freeman Corner, near Orleans, to near Brookville. This is the north boundary of the Grouseland Purchase. It was surveyed in July and August, 1806. Surveyor Henri began at the Freeman Corner and ran a random line at north 65 degrees east, intending to strike the Greenville Indian treaty boundary line 50 miles from the mouth of the Kentucky

river. He struck the said Indian treaty line 15 miles and 77 chains too far south.

He then began at a point 50 miles north of the mouth of Ken-



EARLIEST SURVEYS IN INDIANA.

tucky river, (near Brookville, Indiana), and ran back to the Freeman Corner, which he missed by running south. From this second line he corrected back to the Fort Recovery line running at north about 57 degrees east.

The distance from the Freeman Corner to a point 50 miles

north of the Ohio river on the Fort Recovery line is 89 miles and 45.5 chains. The course from the Freeman Corner was north about 57 degrees east, at the time of Henri's survey, 1806. At the time this survey was made the magnetic variation at the Freeman Corner was 6 degrees and 25 minutes east.¹⁰

The west line of Dearborn county is the Greenville treaty line. It was surveyed in 1798 by Israel Ludlow.

It ran from the mouth of the Kentucky river to Fort Recovery, Ohio, about 15 miles east of Portland, Ind. The Grouseland treaty line ran from the Freeman Corner, in Orange county, to a point on the Greenville treaty line, near Brookville. The line between Decatur and Ripley counties is the Grouseland treaty line, surveyed by Arthur Henri. The northeast Freeman Corner is 57 miles east of Vincennes. The court house at Vincennes is about 38 degrees and 41 minutes north latitude.¹¹

The southeast Freeman Corner of the "Vincennes Tract" is in a creek in Perry county, and at a place almost inaccessible by ordinary means of travel. It is south of the northeast corner of the southeast quarter of section 25, township 4 south, of range 3 west, on the line between ranges 2 and 3. It is on the lands of Thomas J. Lanman and John B. Jones.¹²

The record Freeman left of his survey is not altogether dry reading to students of pioneer conditions in Indiana. His record begins:

"Crossed the Wabash July 21st (1802), and proceeded from Vincennes with my little party for Point Coupee; arrived next day, 12 o'clock, very weak and unwell, Sunday (July 22, 1802), determined the width of river and took courses, etc."

His record describes the land, timber, streams, etc., in units of one mile. Line trees were marked and recorded, but in this his records are not so complete as one would wish. He paid more attention to topography than he appears to have done to witness trees. He writes of "handsome prairies," "wavy land," "scrubby pieces of woods," "bushy barrens," "tough, wet, clay soil," etc.

In 1802 he found a coal mine, on the south line, at thirty-seven

¹⁰ Miscellaneous Record—Indiana, 55 to 67, State Auditor's Office.

¹¹ Dillon's *History of Indiana*, 419; Esarey's *History of Indiana*, 132, 340 and 342.

¹² Minto's Map of Perry County, 1894.

miles from the mouth of White river, near the corner of Pike, Warrick and Dubois counties.

Freeman's record shows that he started to run the northeast line February 8, 1803, but "lay bye" until February 14, 1803, on account of bad weather. At six miles from Point Coupee he found a "crab orchard;" at thirty-eight miles he found an Indian trail; at forty-two miles he found mineral springs (perhaps Trinity Springs).

When he ran south 12 degrees west, on the east line he found the bed of a dry creek at eight miles. Twelve miles from the Orleans corner he records the "Trace to Cincinnati," and at fourteen miles he was on the "side of hill, above Louisville Trace, (i. e., "Buffalo Trace") and a few paces from a large cave."¹³ On Saturday, September 17, 1803, he began the survey of the settlement around Carlisle, in Sullivan county. Freeman was employed nearly two years in this survey.¹⁴

Another interesting side light on the "Vincennes Tract" is found in the survey of the old "Buffalo Trace" from it to "Clark's Grant."

The "Clark's Grant" land survey bears date of 1785. There is a treaty line running south 73 degrees and 30 minutes east from a point on the east line of the "Vincennes Tract" to the west line of the "Clark's Grant," a distance of 40 miles and 42 chains. This line was surveyed by William Rector. The land south and west of this line was bought of the Indians by treaties dated at Vincennes, August 18 and 27, 1804. The line above referred to is practically the old "Vincennes" or "Buffalo Trace." Its various courses and distances were surveyed, July 11, 1805, by William Rector.¹⁵ Trees along this line were marked, "To C. G. 2 mi.," "To C. G. 33 mi.," etc., meaning the distance the particular tree was from "Clark's Grant." The survey began from "Clark's Grant" and went a general northwest course to the east line of the Freeman survey. The survey noted the locations of cabins, springs, etc., along the trace.¹⁶ At 43 miles and 7 chains from "Clark's Grant," Surveyor Rector records a "whetstone cave." The meanderings of the "Buffalo Trace" make the distance 43 miles and 28 chains. At the end of the survey, and on the east line of the "Vincennes Tract," Surveyor Rector marked a beech tree 12

¹³ Miscellaneous Record—Indiana, 29.

¹⁴ Miscellaneous Record—Indiana, 33. See Rector's mention of a "whetstone cave."

¹⁵ Miscellaneous Record—Indiana, page 37, State Auditor's Office.

¹⁶ Miscellaneous Record—Indiana, 39.

inches in diameter, "To C. G. 43 miles and 28 chains." He completed the survey, July 16, 1805. The magnetic variation at that time was 5 degrees and 15 minutes east.¹⁷ This old line is now recognized as the old New Albany and Paoli pike.

In those days land was not valuable, and the surveys were not made with the same care as surveys are made today, yet the work done by the old surveyors, like Freeman, Henri, Rector, Buckingham, Sanford and others, served a noble purpose in the development of Indiana.

On October 27, 1795, a treaty was made between the United States and Spain, defining the boundaries of the respective countries in the south and west, about Florida, and at thirty-one degrees of north latitude on the Mississippi, etc. (The north line of Florida.) The treaty was ratified March 3, 1796, and on May 24, 1796, Thomas Freeman was appointed surveyor, on the part of the United States, for the purpose of running the boundary line mentioned in said treaty. It thus appears that Thomas Freeman must have been a surveyor who enjoyed the confidence of his country, and had had unusual experience before he came to Indiana.¹⁸

The Spanish claim to America, the French settlement at Vincennes, how the English took it from the French, and how General Clark captured Vincennes from the English and secured the territory northwest of the Ohio River for Virginia, and finally how Virginia ceded it to the general government of the United States, are understood by practically all Americans who have read the history of their native land, but the details of the treaties with the Indians, the real owners of the land, and the first survey of the land thus obtained are not so well known.

Many of us know the fee simple title to our lands from the United States down. This article may assist us to know how the general government obtained it.

What is known as the "Vincennes Tract" seems to have had the first white title in southern Indiana. Just how this title was acquired and what was paid for it may never be known. It was held for years before the treaty of Greenville, Ohio, by white settlers and acknowledged by the Indians by that treaty to be the

¹⁷ Miscellaneous Record—Indiana, 46, State Auditor's Office. See Freeman's mention of a large cave.

¹⁸ Dillon's *History of Indiana*, 378 and 379.

property of white men. That there was a white title to the "Vincennes Tract" is evidenced by a deed dated October 18, 1775, and conveying land north and south of it to the Wabash Land Company.¹⁹

A second tract of land in southern Indiana that had been acquired by white settlers was at Clarksville, near Jeffersonville, and the "Illinois Grant," now generally known as "Clark's Grant." "Clark's Grant" was surveyed by William Clark in 1786. It was named in honor of General George Rogers Clark, the hero of Vincennes.

"In the month of July, 1779, two Piankeshaw chiefs, Tabac and Grand Cornette, by deed conveyed to George Rogers Clark a tract of land two and a half leagues square, lying on the northwestern side of the Ohio opposite the falls of that river. Virginia never confirmed this purchase, because the constitution of that state, which was formed in May, 1776, declared that no purchase of lands should be made of the Indian natives, but on behalf of the public, by the authority of the General Assembly. By an act of the 2nd of January, 1781, the General Assembly of Virginia resolved that, on certain conditions, they would cede to Congress, for the benefit of the United States, all the right, title and claim which Virginia had to the territory northwest of the river Ohio. Congress, by an act of the 13th of September, 1783, agreed to accept the cession of the territory; and the General Assembly of Virginia, on the 20th of December, 1783, passed an act authorizing their delegates in Congress to convey to the United States, the right, title and claim of Virginia to the lands northwest of the river Ohio.

"In October, 1783, the General Assembly of Virginia passed an act for laying off the town of Clarksville, at the falls of the Ohio, in the county of Illinois. The act provided that the lots, of half an acre each, should be sold at public auction for the best price that could be had. The purchasers respectively were to hold their lots subject to the condition of building on each, within three years from the day of sale, a dwelling house 'twenty feet by eighteen, at least, with a brick or stone chimney.' William Fleming, John Edwards, John Campbell, Walker Daniel, George R. Clark, Abraham Chaplin, John Montgomery, John Bailey, Robert Todd and William Clark, were, by the act of the Assembly, constituted trustees of the town of Clarksville."²⁰

On March 1, 1784, Thomas Jefferson, Samuel Hardy, Arthur Lee and James Monroe, delegates in Congress on the part of Virginia, executed a deed of cession by which they transferred to the

¹⁹Dillon *Historical Notes of the Northwestern Territory*, 119, 123; Dillon *History of Indiana*, 105, 402, 403. (White river was called "Blanche River" by the French.)

²⁰Dillon *Historical Notes of the Northwestern Territory*, 196, 197; *Hening's Statutes*, Volume II, pages 235-257, 309, 335-337.

United States, on certain conditions, all claim of Virginia to the country northwest of the river Ohio. Among the conditions was this one:

"That a quantity not exceeding one hundred and fifty thousand acres of land, promised by Virginia, shall be allowed and granted to the then colonel, now General George Rogers Clark, and to the officers and soldiers of his regiment, who marched with him when the posts of Kaskaskia and Vincennes were reduced, and to the officers and soldiers that have been since incorporated into the said regiment, to be laid off in one tract, the length of which not to exceed double the breadth, in such place on the northwest side of the Ohio, as a majority of the officers shall choose, and to be afterwards divided among the officers and soldiers in due proportion, according to the laws of Virginia."

This reservation was laid off on the borders of the Ohio river, adjacent to the falls, in 1786, and was then called the "Illinois Grant." Of this tract the private soldier received 200 acres, non-commissioned officer 400 acres, captain 4,000 acres.²¹

The Indians conceded "Clark's Grant" to the white men in Article IV, of the Greenville Treaty. In that treaty it is enumerated as—"First. The tract of one hundred and fifty thousand acres near the rapids of the river Ohio, which has been assigned to General Clark for the use of himself and his warriors."²²

By a treaty made at Greenville,²³ on August 3, 1795, the United States acquired a title to the "gore" of Indiana, being that part of Indiana east of the Greenville Treaty Line, and acknowledged that the Indians held a title to certain lands west of the Greenville Treaty Line, which ran in a northerly direction from the mouth of the Kentucky river, and along the west line of Dearborn county, but in so doing, excepted: "Second. The post of St. Vincennes, on the river Wabash and the lands adjacent, of which the Indian title has been extinguished."²⁴ This intended to except the "Vincennes Tract," and in a way shows there must have been some older French and Indian treaty, as was implied in the deed to the Wabash Land Company, the copy of which was lost.

The description of the "Vincennes Tract" in the Greenville Treaty proved to be too vague, and to make it definite this "Exception No. 2" became the subject for consideration at another treaty. It seems that Thomas Freeman took the description in the Wabash Land Company's deed as a guide, and, by a survey, produced a

²¹Dillon *Historical Notes of the Northwestern Territory*, 197, 198.

²²Dillon *Historical Notes of the Northwestern Territory*, 453.

²³Dillon *Historical Notes of the Northwestern Territory*, 451.

more definite description which was used when a new treaty was made at Fort Wayne. A copy of the final treaty at Fort Wayne, June 7, 1803, follows:²⁵

"Articles of a treaty made at Fort Wayne, on the Miami of the Lake, between William Henry Harrison, governor of the Indiana territory, superintendent of Indian affairs, and commissioner plenipotentiary of the United States for concluding any treaty or treaties which may be found necessary, with any of the Indian tribes northwest of the Ohio, of the one part, and the tribes of Indians called the Delawares, Shawanees, Pattawatimas, Miamis and Kickapoos, by their chiefs and head warriors, and those of the Eel Rivers, Weas, Piankeshaws and Kaskaskias, by their agents and representatives, Tuthinipee, Winnemac, Richeville and Little Turtle, (who are properly authorized by the said tribes) of the other part.

"Art. I. *Whereas*, It is declared by the fourth article of the Treaty of Greenville, that the United States reserve for their use the post of Vincennes, and all the lands adjacent, to which the Indian titles had been extinguished. *And whereas*, It has been found difficult to determine the precise limits of the said tract as held by the French and British governments; it is hereby agreed, that the boundaries of the said tract shall be as follows: Beginning at Point Coupee, on the Wabash, and running thence by a line north seventy-eight degrees west, twelve miles, thence by a line parallel to the general course of the Wabash until it shall be intersected by a line at right angles to the same, passing through the mouth of White river, thence by the last mentioned line across the Wabash and toward the Ohio, seventy-two miles, thence by a line north twelve west [east], until it shall be intersected by a line at right angles to the same, passing through Point Coupee, and by the last mentioned line to the place of beginning.

"Art. II. The United States hereby relinquish all claim which they may have had to any lands adjoining to, or in the neighborhood of the tract above described.

"Art. III. As a mark of their regard and attachment to the United States, whom they acknowledged for their only friends and protectors, and for the consideration hereinafter mentioned, the said tribes do hereby relinquish and cede to the United States the great salt spring upon the Saline creek, which falls into the Ohio below the mouth of the Wabash, with a quantity of land surrounding it, not exceeding four miles square, and which may be laid off in a square or oblong, as the one or the other may be found most convenient to the United States; and the said United States being desirous that the Indian tribes should participate in the benefits to be derived from the said spring, hereby engage to deliver yearly, and every year, for the use of the said Indians, a quantity of salt, not exceeding one hundred and fifty bushels,

²⁴ Mss. 49062 Indiana State Library, 52.

²⁵ Mss. 49062 Indiana State Library, 57-60.

and which shall be divided among the several tribes in such manner as the general council of the chiefs may determine.

"Art. IV. For the considerations before mentioned, and for the convenience which the said tribes will themselves derive from such establishments, it is hereby agreed, that as soon as the tribes called the Kickapoos, Eel Rivers, Weas, Piankeshaws and Kaskaskias, shall give their consent to the measure, the United States shall have the right of locating three tracts of land (of such size as may be agreed upon with the last mentioned tribes) on the main road between Vincennes and Kaskaskia, and one other between Vincennes and Clarksville, for the purpose of erecting houses of entertainment, for the accommodation of travelers. But it is expressly understood, that if the said locations are made on any of the rivers which cross the said road, and ferries should be established on the same, that in times of high water any Indian or Indians, belonging to either of the tribes who are parties to the treaty, shall have the privilege of crossing such ferry toll free. [A copy of this agreement hereinafter follows.]

"Art. V. *Whereas*, there is reason to believe, that if the boundary lines of the tract described in the first article should run in the manner therein directed, that some of the settlements and locations of land, made by the citizens of the United States, will fall in the Indian country: it is hereby agreed, that such alterations shall be made in the direction of these lines, as will include them, and a quantity of land, equal in quantity to what may be thus taken, shall be given to the said tribes, either at the east or the west end of the tract.²⁶

"In testimony whereof, the commissioner of the United States, and the chiefs and warriors of the Delawares, Shawanees, Pattawatimas, Miamis and Kickapoos, and those of the Eel Rivers, Weas, Piankeshaws and Kaskaskias, by their agents and representatives, Tuthinipee, Winne-mac, Richeville and the Little Turtle, who are properly authorized by the said tribes, have hereunto subscribed their names and affixed their seals, at Fort Wayne, this seventh day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and three, and of the independence of the United States the twenty-seventh.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON. (Seal)
(Miami.)

RICHERVILLE (his X mark). (Seal)

MESHEKUNNOGHQUOH, or Little Turtle (his X mark). (Seal)

On behalf of themselves, Eel Rivers, Weas, Piankeshaws and Kaskaskias, whom they represent.

(Kickapoos.)

NEHMEHTOHAN, or Standing (his X mark). (Seal)

PASHSHEWEHAH, or Cat (his X mark). (Seal)

(Shawanees.)

NEAHMEMSIEEH (his X mark). (Seal)

²⁶For example, see Carlisle, Sullivan county. *Senate Document*, Volume 39, pages 64 and 65.

(Pattawatimas.)

TUTHINIPÉE (his X mark). (Seal)

WINNEMAC (his X mark). (Seal)

On behalf of the Pattawatimas and Eel Rivers, Weas, Piankeshaws and Kaskaskias, whom they represent.

WANNANGSEA, or Five Medals (his X mark). (Seal)

KEESAAS, or Sun (his X mark). (Seal)

(Delawares.)

TETA BUXIKE (his X mark). (Seal)

BUKONGEHELAS (his X mark). (Seal)

HOCKINGPOMSKERM (his X mark). (Seal)

KECHKAWHANUND (his X mark). (Seal)

(Shawanees.)

CUTHEWEKASAW, or Black Hook (his X mark). (Seal)

METHAWNASICE (his X mark). (Seal)

Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of John Rice Jones, secretary to the commissioner; John Gibson, secretary Indiana territory; Thomas Pasteur, captain first regiment infantry; William Wells, interpreter; John Johnson, United States factor; Hendrick Aupaumut, chief of Muhhecon; Thomas Freeman.

"The proceedings at the within treaty were faithfully interpreted by us, John Gibson and William Wells; that is, for the Delawares, John Gibson, and for the rest of the tribes, William Wells.

"JOHN GIBSON,

"WILLIAM WELLS."

The agreement mentioned in the foregoing treaty:

"At a council holden at Vincennes, on the 7th day of August, 1803, under the direction of William Henry Harrison, governor of the Indiana territory, at which were present the chiefs and warriors of the Eel Rivers, Wyandott, Piankeshaw and Kaskaskia nations, and also the tribe of the Kickapoos, by their representatives, the chiefs of the Eel River nation.

"The fourth article of the treaty holden and concluded at Fort Wayne, on the 7th of June, 1803, being considered, the chiefs and warriors of the said nations give their free and full consent to the same, and they do hereby relinquish and confirm to the United States the privilege and right of locating three several tracts of land of one mile square each, on the road leading from Vincennes to Kaskaskia, and also one other tract of land one mile square on the road leading from Vincennes to Clarksville, [Buffalo Trace] which locations shall be made in such places on the aforesaid roads, as shall best comport with the convenience and interests of the United States in the establishment of houses of entertainment for the accommodation of travelers.

"In witness whereof, the said William Henry Harrison, and the said chiefs and warriors of the before mentioned nations and tribe of Indians,

have hereunto set their hands and affixed their seals, the day and year first above written.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.	(Seal)
KA TUNGA, or Charly (his X mark).	(Seal)
AKA KETA, or Ploughman (his X mark).	(Seal)
GROS BLED, or Big Corn (his X mark).	(Seal)
BLACK DOG (his X mark).	(Seal)
PUPPEQNOR, or Gum (his X mark).	(Seal)
LA BOUSSIER (his X mark).	(Seal)
DUCOIGNEI (his X mark).	(Seal)
PEDAGOGUE (his X mark).	(Seal)
SACONQUANEVA, or Tired Legs (his X mark).	(Seal)
LITTLE EYES (his X mark)	(Seal)

Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of us.

JOHN RICE JONES.

B. PARKE,

JOSEPH BARRON, Interpreter."²⁷

The McDonalds settled in Dubois county, cleared land, and built a cabin on the Vincennes and Clarksville road before this treaty was signed, and before the survey of the "Vincennes Tract," which this treaty covers, was made.

It will be noticed that the Buffalo Trace passed from near Vincennes toward Louisville, almost in the center of the tract conveyed by this treaty, thus giving a line of travel through the center of the purchase.

The Treaty of Greenville, made August 3, 1795, contained this provision:

"And whenever the United States shall think proper to survey and mark the boundaries of the lands hereby ceded to them, they shall give timely notice thereof to the said tribes of Indians, that they may appoint some of their wise chiefs to attend and see that the lines are run according to the terms of the treaty."²⁸

The Fort Wayne treaty is known in the American State Papers as No. 104, and was communicated to the Senate, October 31, 1803, by President Thomas Jefferson.

The possession of the Buffalo Trace was a valuable asset to the settlements in the "Vincennes Tract." With that end in view additional territory was purchased from the Indians.

On November 15, 1804, Thomas Jefferson communicated to the Senate a treaty made with the Delawares and Piankeshaws, August

²⁷Mss. 49062 Indiana State Library, 60; *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Volume 1, page 688.

²⁸Article III, of the Greenville treaty; Dillon *Historical Notes of the Northwestern Territory*, 451-456; Mss. 49062 Indiana State Library.

18, 1804, and also one made with the Piankeshaws, August 27, 1804. These two treaties made at Vincennes, August 18, 1804, are known as No. 105 in the American State Papers. A copy follows:³¹

"The Delaware tribe of Indians, finding that the annuity which they receive from the United States is not sufficient to supply them with the articles which are necessary for their comfort and convenience, and afford the means of introducing amongst them the arts of civilized life; and being convinced that the extensiveness of the country they possess, by giving an opportunity to their hunting parties to ramble to a great distance from their towns, is the principal means of retarding this desirable event; and the United States being desirous to connect their settlements on the Wabash with the state of Kentucky:

"Therefore, the United States, by William Henry Harrison, governor of the Indiana territory, and the said tribe of Indians, by their sachems, chiefs and head warriors, have agreed to the following articles, which, when ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall be binding on the said parties.

"Art. I. The said Delaware tribe, for the considerations hereinafter mentioned, relinquishes to the United States, forever, all their rights and title to the tract of country which lies between the Ohio and Wabash rivers, and below the tract ceded by the Treaty of Fort Wayne, [Vincennes Tract] and the road leading from Vincennes to the falls of Ohio.

"Art. II. The said tribe shall receive from the United States, for ten years, an additional annuity of three hundred dollars, which is to be exclusively appropriated to the purpose of ameliorating their condition, and promoting their civilization. Suitable persons shall be employed at the expense of the United States, to teach them to make fences, cultivate the earth, and such of the domestic arts as are adapted to their situation; and a further sum of three hundred dollars shall be appropriated, annually, for five years, to this object. The United States will cause to be delivered to them, in the course of the next spring, horses fit for draught, cattle, hogs and implements of husbandry, to the amount of four hundred dollars. The preceding stipulations, together with goods to the amount of eight hundred dollars, which is now delivered to the said tribe (a part of which is to be appropriated to the satisfying certain individuals of the said tribe, whose horses have been taken by white people) is to be considered as full compensation for the relinquishment made in the first article.

"Art. III. As there is great reason to believe that there are now in the possession of the said tribe several horses, which have been stolen from citizens of the United States, the chiefs who represent the said tribe are to use their utmost endeavor to have the said horses forthwith delivered to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, or such persons as he may appoint to receive them. And, as the United States can place the utmost reliance on the honor and integrity of those chiefs who have mani-

³¹*Indian Affairs*, I, 689, 690.

fested a punctilious regard to the engagements entered into at the Treaty of Greenville, it is agreed that, in relation to such of the horses stolen as aforesaid, but which have died or been removed beyond the reach of the chiefs, the United States will compensate the owners for the loss of them, without deducting from the annuity of the said tribe the amount of what may be paid in this way. But it is expressly understood that this provision is not to extend to any horses which have been stolen within the course of twelve months preceding the date hereof.

"Art. IV. The said tribe having exhibited to the above-named commissioner of the United States, sufficient proof of their right to all the country which lies between the Ohio and White river; and the Miami tribe, who were the original proprietors of the upper part of that country, having explicitly acknowledged the title of the Delawares, at the general council held at Fort Wayne, in the month of June, 1803, the said United States will, in future, consider the Delawares as the rightful owners of all the country which is bounded by the White river, on the north, the Ohio on the south, the general boundary line running from the mouth of the Kentucky river, on the east, and the tract ceded by this treaty and that ceded by the Treaty of Fort Wayne, on the west and southwest.

"Art. V. As the Piankeshaw tribe have hitherto obstinately persisted in refusing to recognize the title of the Delawares to the tract of country ceded by this treaty, the United States will negotiate with them, and will endeavor to settle the matter in an amicable way; but, should they reject the propositions that may be made to them on this subject, and should the United States not think proper to take possession of the said country without their consent, the stipulations and promises herein made, on behalf of the United States, shall be null and void.

"Art. VI. As the road from Vincennes to Clark's grant will form a very inconvenient boundary, and as it is the intention of the parties to these presents, that the whole of the said road shall be within the tract ceded to the United States, it is agreed, that the boundary in that quarter, shall be a straight line, to be drawn parallel to the course of the said road, from the eastern boundary of the tract ceded by the treaty of Fort Wayne, to Clark's grant, but the said line is not to pass at a greater distance than half a mile from the most northerly bend of said road.

"In witness whereof, the commissioner plenipotentiary of the United States, and the chiefs and head-men of the said tribe, have hereunto set their hands and affixed their seals.

"Done at Vincennes, August 18, 1804, and of the independence of the United States the twenty-ninth.³²

WILLIAM H. HARRISON. (Seal)

TETA BUXICA (his X mark). (Seal)

BOKONGEHELAS (his X mark). (Seal)

ALIMEE, or Geo. White Eyes (his X mark) (Seal)

HOCKING POMSKANN (his X mark) (Seal)

TOMAGUEE, or the Beaver (his X mark) (Seal)

³² *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, II, 689, 690; *Senate Documents*, Vol. 39, 70-72.

"Signed, sealed, and delivered in the presence of John Gibson, secretary to the commissioner; Henry Vanderburg, judge of Indiana territory; Vigo, colonel of Knox county, L. T. Militia; B. Parke, attorney-general of the Indiana Territory; John Rice Jones, of Indiana territory; Robert Buntin, prothonotary of Knox county, Indiana territory; Geo. Wallace, Jr., of Indiana territory; Antonine Marchel, of I. T.; Joseph Barron, interpreter; Edward Hempstead, attorney at law.

"I hereby certify that each and every article of the foregoing treaty was carefully explained and precisely interpreted by me, to the Delaware chiefs, who have signed the same.

JOHN GIBSON."

The Piankeshaw Treaty, which is really a continuation of the foregoing, follows:

"A treaty between the United States of America and the Piankeshaw tribe of Indians, concluded at Vincennes, August 24, 1804.

"The President of the United States, by William Henry Harrison, Governor of the Indiana territory, and the chiefs and head-men of the Piankeshaw tribe, have agreed to the following articles; which, when ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall be binding upon the said parties.

"Article I. The Piankeshaw tribe relinquishes and cedes to the United States forever, all that tract of country which lies between the Ohio and the Wabash rivers, and below 'Clark's Grant' and the tract called the 'Vincennes Tract,' which was ceded by the Treaty of Fort Wayne, and a line connecting the said tract and grant, to be drawn parallel to the general course of the road leading from Vincennes to the Falls of the Ohio, so as not to pass more than half a mile to the northward of the most northerly bend of the said road.

"Art. II. The Piankeshaw tribe acknowledges explicitly the right of the Kaskaskia tribe to sell the country which they have lately ceded to the United States, and which is separated from the lands of the Piankeshaws by the ridge of highland which divides the waters of the Wabash from the waters of the Saline creek; and by that which divides the waters of the said Wabash from those which flow into the Au-Vase and other branches of the Mississippi.

"Art. III. An additional annuity, of two hundred dollars, shall be paid by the United States to the said tribe, for ten years, in money, merchandise, provisions, or domestic animals, and implements of husbandry, at the option of the said tribe; and this annuity, together with goods to the value of seven hundred dollars, which are now delivered to them by the commissioner of the United States, is considered as a full compensation for the above mentioned relinquishment.

"Art. IV. The United States reserves to themselves the right of dividing the whole annuity, which they pay to the said tribe, amongst the families which compose the same; allowing, always, a due proportion for the chiefs. And the said chiefs, whenever the President of the United

States may require it, shall, upon proper notice being given, assemble their tribe for the purpose of effecting this arrangement.

"In witness whereof, the commissioner plenipotentiary of the United States, and the chiefs and head-men of the said tribe, have hereunto set their hands and affixed their seals.

"Done at Vincennes, in the Indiana territory, August 27, 1804, and of the independence of the United States the twenty-ninth.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON (Seal)

WABOCHQUINKE, LaGros Bled, or Big Corn (his X mark) (Seal)

SWOKANIA, Trois Fesse, or Three Thighs (his X mark) (Seal)

MAKATEWELAMA, Chien Noir, or Black Dog (his X mark) (Seal)

ALEMOIN, LeChien, or the Dog (his X mark) (Seal)

KEKELANQUAGOH, or Lightning (his X mark) (Seal)

"Signed, sealed, and delivered, in the presence of John Gibson, secretary to the commissioner; John Griffin, one of the judges of the Ty. of Indiana; Henry Vanderburg, one of the judges of the Indiana Territory; B. Parke, attorney general of the Ty. of Indiana; William Prince, sheriff of Knox county, Indiana territory; George Wallace, jun., of the Indiana territory; Peter Jones, of Knox county, Indiana territory; Edward Hempstead, attorney at law, Indiana territory; Abraham F. Snapp; Joseph Barron, interpreter.

"I do hereby certify that each and every article of the foregoing treaty was carefully explained and precisely interpreted, by me, to the Piankeshaw chiefs who have signed the same.

JOSEPH BARRON, Interpreter."³³

There was an Indian trail leading from Cincinnati that joined the Buffalo Trace near French Lick in the "Vincennes Tract." If the territory through which it passed were acquired it would open up a line of travel between Cincinnati and Vincennes, and entirely shut off the Indians from the Ohio river. That was accomplished by the Treaty of Grouseland.

It is but a small flight of the imagination to say that the Buffalo Trace from Vincennes to Clarksville, or Louisville, was a great religious highway to the Indian, for when French white men came to Vincennes, they found Indians there worshipping the buffalo as their Manitou, or Great Spirit.³⁴ The Buffalo Trace was a great factor in the settlement of southern Indiana, and the possession of this road and the trail from the Whitewater country early attracted the attention of General Harrison, who therefore negotiated the Treaty of Grouseland, August 21, 1805. (near Vincennes):

"Articles of a treaty made and entered into, at Grouseland, near Vin-

³³ *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, II, 690; *Senate Documents*, Volume 39, pages 72, 73.

³⁴ *Dillon Historical Notes of the Northwestern Territory*, 31, 32.

cennes, in the Indiana territory, by and between William Henry Harrison, governor of said territory, and the tribes of Indians called the Delawares, Pattawatimas, Miamis, Eel Rivers, and Weas, jointly and severally, by their chiefs and head-men, of the other part.

"Art. I. Whereas, by the fourth article of a treaty made between the United States and the Delaware tribe, on August 18, 1804, the said United States engaged to consider the said Delawares as the proprietors of all that tract of country which is bounded by the White river on the north, the Ohio and Clark's grant on the south, the general boundary line running from the mouth of Kentucky river on the east, and the tract ceded by the treaty of Fort Wayne and the road leading to Clark's grant on the west and southwest. And whereas the Miami tribe, from whom the Delawares derived their claim, contend that, in their cession of said tract to the Delawares, it was never their intention to convey to them the right of the soil, but to suffer them to occupy it as long as they thought proper, the said Delawares have, for the sake of peace and good neighborhood, determined to relinquish their claim to the said tract, and do, by these presents, release the United States from the guarantee made in the before-mentioned article of the treaty of August, 1804.

"Art. II. The said Miami, Eel River, and Wea tribes, cede and relinquish to the United States, forever, all that tract of country which lies to the south of a line to be drawn from the northeast corner of the tract ceded by the treaty of Fort Wayne, so as to strike the general boundary line, running from a point opposite to the mouth of the Kentucky river to Fort Recovery, at the distance of fifty miles from its commencement on the Ohio river.

"Art. III. In consideration of the cession made in the preceding article, the United States will give an additional permanent annuity to said Miamis, Eel Rivers, and Wea tribes, in the following proportions, viz: to the Miamis, six hundred dollars; to the Eel River tribe, two hundred and fifty dollars; to the Weas, two hundred and fifty dollars; and also to the Pattawatimas, an additional annuity of five hundred dollars, for ten years, and no longer; which, together with the sum of four thousand dollars, which is now delivered, the receipt whereof they do hereby acknowledge, is to be considered as a full compensation for the land now ceded.

"Art. IV. As the tribes which are now called the Miamis, Eel Rivers, and Weas, were formerly, and still considered themselves as one nation, and as they have determined that neither of those tribes shall dispose of any part of the country which they hold in common: in order to quiet their minds on that head, the United States do hereby engage to consider them as joint owners of all the country on the Wabash and its waters, above the Vincennes Tract, and which has not been ceded to the United States by this or any former treaty; and they do further engage, that they will not purchase any part of the said country, without the consent of each of the said tribes; provided always, that nothing in this section contained, shall in any manner weaken or destroy any claim which the Kickapoos, who are not represented at this treaty, may have to the country they now occupy on the Vermilion river.

"Art. V. The Pattawatimas, Miami, Eel River and Wea tribes, explicitly acknowledge the right of the Delawares to sell the tract of land conveyed to the United States by the treaty of August 18, 1804, which tract was given by the Piankeshaws to the Delawares about thirty-seven years ago.

"Art. VI. The annuities herein stipulated to be paid by the United States, shall be delivered in the same manner, and under the same conditions, as those which the tribes have heretofore received.

"Art. VII. This treaty shall be in force and obligatory on the contracting parties, as soon as the same shall have been ratified by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States.

"In testimony whereof, the said commissioner plenipotentiary of the United States and the sachems, chiefs, and head-men of the said tribes, have hereunto set their hands and affixed their seals.

"Done at Grouseland, near Vincennes. August 21, 1805, and of the independence of the United States the thirtieth.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON	L.S.
Delawares	

HOCKING POMSKAN (his X mark)	L.S.
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KOCKLAHENUND, or William Anderson (his X mark)	L.S.
--	------

ALLIME, or White Eyes (his X mark)	L.S.
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TOMAGUE, or Beaver (his X mark)	L.S.
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Pattawatimas	
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TOPANEPEE (his X mark)	L.S.
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LISHAHECON (his X mark)	L.S.
-------------------------	------

WENAMECH (his X mark)	L.S.
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Miamis	
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KAKONWECONNER, or Long Legs (his X mark)	L.S.
--	------

MISSINGGUIMSCHAN, or Owl (his X mark)	L.S.
---------------------------------------	------

WABSIER, or White Skin (his X mark)	L.S.
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MASHEKANOCQUAH, or Little Turtle (his X mark)	L.S.
---	------

RICHARDVILLE (his X mark)	L.S.
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Eel Rivers	
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WAIONECANA, or Night Stander (his X mark)	L.S.
---	------

METANSAUNER, or Sam (his X mark)	L.S.
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ARCHEKATAUH, or Earth (his X mark)	L.S.
------------------------------------	------

Weas	
------	--

ASSONNONQUAH, or Labossiere (his X mark)	L.S.
--	------

MISQUACONAQUA, or Painted Pole (his X mark)	L.S.
---	------

CHEQUANAH, or Little Eyes (his X mark)	L.S.
--	------

MISSENEWAND, or Captain Bullet (his X mark)	L.S.
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Delawares	
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Done in the presence of B. Parke, secretary to the commissioner; John Gibson, secretary Indiana territory; John Griffin, a judge of the Indiana territory; B. Chambers, president of the council; Jesse B. Thomas, speaker of the House of Representatives; John Rice Jones, Saml. Gwathmey, Pierre

Menard, members of the Legislative council, Indiana Territory; Davis Floyd, Shadrach Bond, William Biggs, John Johnson, members of the House of Representatives, Indiana territory; W. Wells, agent of Indian affairs; Vigo, colonel of Knox county militia.

JOHN CONNER,

JOSEPH BARRON,

Sworn Interpreters."

"Additional Article. It is the intention of the contracting parties, that the boundary line herein directed to be run, from the northeast corner of the 'Vincennes Tract' [Orleans corner] to the boundary line running from the mouth of the Kentucky river, shall not cross the Embarrass or Driftwood fork of White river; but if it should strike the said fork, such an alteration in the direction of the said line is to be made as will leave the whole of the said fork in the Indian territory."

The white settlers in the "Vincennes Tract" and in the "gore" of Indiana, near Brookville, felt the Indian territory lines were too near them, so additional land was purchased from the Indians, as evidenced by another Fort Wayne treaty under date of September 30, 1809, which brings us up to the "New Purchase," and to the end of our task, for it was nine years before other Indian treaties occurred embracing land near southern Indiana.

"A treaty between the United States of America, and the tribes of Indians called the Delawares, Pattawatimas, Miamis, and Eel River Miamis.³⁶

"James Madison, president of the United States, by William Henry Harrison, governor and commander in chief of the Indiana territory, and the sachems, head-men, and warriors, of the Delaware, Pattawatima, Miami, and Eel River tribes of Indians, have agreed and concluded upon the following treaty: which when ratified by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, shall be binding on said parties.

"Art. I. The Miami and Eel River tribes, and the Delaware and Pattawatimas, as their allies, agree to cede to the United States all that tract of country which shall be included between the boundary line established by the treaty of Fort Wayne, the Wabash, and a line to be drawn from the mouth of a creek called Raccoon creek [near Montezuma], emptying into the Wabash, on the southeast side, about twelve miles below the mouth of the Vermillion river, so as to strike the boundary line established by the treaty of Grouseland, at such a distance from its commencement, at the northeast corner of the 'Vincennes Tract,' as will leave the tract now ceded thirty miles wide at the narrowest place. And also all that

³⁶Mss. No. 49062 Indiana State Library, 63, 64, 65; *Senate Documents*, Volume 39, page 104.

³⁷Mss. No. 49062 Indiana State Library, 71-74.

tract which shall be included between the following boundaries, viz: beginning at Fort Recovery, thence southwardly along the general boundary line established by the treaty of Greenville, to its intersection with the boundary line established by the treaty of Grouseland; thence along said line to a point, from which a line drawn parallel to the first mentioned line, will be twelve miles distant from the same, and along the said parallel line to its intersection with a line to be drawn from Fort Recovery, parallel to the line established by the said treaty of Grouseland.

"Art. II. The Miamis explicitly acknowledge the equal right of the Delawares with themselves to the country watered by the White river. But it is also to be clearly understood, that neither party shall have the right of disposing of the same without the consent of the others; and any improvements which shall be made on the said land by the Delawares, or their friends, the Mochecans, shall be theirs forever.

"Art. III. The compensation to be given for the cession made in the first article, shall be as follows, viz: to the Delawares, a permanent annuity of five hundred dollars; to the Miamis, a like annuity of five hundred dollars; to the Eel River tribe, a like annuity of two hundred and fifty dollars; and to the Pattawatimas, a like annuity of five hundred dollars.

"Art. IV. All the stipulations made in the treaty of Greenville, relative to the manner of paying the annuities, and the right of the Indians to hunt upon the land, shall apply to the annuities granted, and the land ceded, by the present treaty.

"Art. V. The consent of the Wea tribe shall be necessary to complete the title to the first tract of land here ceded; a separate convention shall be entered into between them and the United States, and a reasonable allowance of goods given them in hand, and a permanent annuity, which shall not be less than three hundred dollars, settled upon them.

"Art. VI. The annuities promised by the third article, and the goods now delivered to the amount of five thousand two hundred dollars, shall be considered as a full compensation for the cession made in the first article.

"Art. VII. The tribes who are parties to this treaty, being desirous of putting an end to the depredations which are committed by abandoned individuals of their own color, upon the cattle, horses, etc., of the more industrious and careful, agree to adopt the following regulations, viz: when any theft or other depredations shall be committed by any individual or individuals of one of the tribes above mentioned, upon the property of any individual or individuals of another tribe, the chiefs of the party injured shall make application to the agent of the United States, who is charged with the delivery of the annuities of the tribe to which the offending party belongs, whose duty it shall be to hear the proofs and allegations on either side, and determine between them; and the amount of his award shall be immediately deducted from the annuity of the tribe to which the offending party belongs, and given to the person injured, or to the chief of his village for his use.

"Art. VIII. The United States agree to relinquish their rights to the reserve, at the old Ourectenon towns, made by the treaty of Greenville, so far, at least, as to make no further use of it than for the establishment of a military post.

"Art. IX. The tribes who are parties to this treaty, being desirous to show their attachment to their brothers the Kickapoos, agree to cede to the United States the land on the northwest side of the Wabash, from the Vincennes tract to a northwardly extension of the line running from the mouth of the aforesaid Racoon creek, and fifteen miles in width from the Wabash, on condition that the United States shall allow them an annuity of four hundred dollars. But this article is to have no effect unless the Kickapoos will agree to it.

"In testimony whereof, the said William Henry Harrison, and the sachems and war chiefs of the before-mentioned tribes, have hereunto set their hands and affixed their seals, at Fort Wayne, this thirtieth of September, eighteen hundred and nine.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON L.S.

Delawares

ANDERSON, for Hockingpomskon, who is absent (his X mark) L.S.

ANDERSON (his X mark) L.S.

PETCHEKEKAPON (his X mark) L.S.

THE BEAVER (his X mark) L.S.

CAPTAIN KILLBUCK (his X mark) L.S.

Pattawatimas

WINEMAC (his X mark) L.S.

FIVE MEDALS, by his son (his X mark) L.S.

MOGAWGO (his X mark) L.S.

SHISSAHECON, for himself and his brother Tuthinippee (his X mark) L.S.

OSSMEET, brother to Five Medals (his X mark) L.S.

NANOUSEKAH, Penamo's son (his X mark) L.S.

MOSSER (his X mark) L.S.

CHEQUINIMO (his X mark) L.S.

SACHANACKSHUT (his X mark) L.S.

CONENGEE (his X mark) L.S.

Miamis

PUCAN (his X mark) L.S.

THE OWL (his X mark) L.S.

MESHEKENOGHQUA, or the Little Turtle (his X mark) L.S.

WAPEMANGUA, or the Loon (his X mark) L.S.

SILVER HEELS (his X mark) L.S.

SHAWAPENOMO (his X mark) L.S.

Eel Rivers,³⁷

CHARLEY (his X mark) L.S.

SHESHANGOMEQUAH, or Swallow (his X mark) L.S.

THE YOUNG WYANDOT, a Miami of Elkhart (his X mark) L.S.

In the presence of Peter Jones, secretary to the commissioner; John

³⁷Dillon *History of Indiana*, 535-538.

Johnson, Indian agent; A. Heald, capt. the United States' army; A. Edwards, surgeon's mate; Ph. Ostrander, lieut. United States' army; John Shaw; Stephen Johnson; J. Hamilton, Sheriff of Dearborn county; Hendrick Aupamut.

WILLIAM WELLS,

JOHN CONNER,

JOSEPH BARRON,

ABRAHAM ASH,

Sworn Interpreters."³⁸

A separate article, bearing upon the foregoing treaty, reads as follows:

"A separate Article, entered into at Fort Wayne, September 30, 1809, between William Henry Harrison, and the sachems and chief warriors of the Miami and Eel River tribes of Indians, which is to be considered as forming part of the treaty this day concluded, between the United States, and the said tribes, and their allies, the Delawares and Pattawatimas.

"As the greater part of the lands, ceded to the United States, by the treaty, this day concluded, was the exclusive property of the Miami nation, and guaranteed to them by the treaty of Grouseland, it is considered by the said commissioner just and reasonable that their request to be allowed some further and additional compensation should be complied with. It is, therefore, agreed, that the United States shall deliver, for their use, in the course of the next spring, at Fort Wayne, domestic animals to the amount of five hundred dollars, and the like number for the two following years; and that an armory shall be also maintained at Fort Wayne, for the use of the Indians, as heretofore: it is also agreed that, if the Kickapoos confirm the ninth article of the treaty to which this is a supplement, the United States will allow to the Miamis a further permanent annuity of two hundred dollars, and to the Wea and Eel River tribes, a further annuity of one hundred dollars each.

"In testimony whereof, the said William Henry Harrison, and the sachems and war chiefs of the said tribes, have hereunto set their hands, and affixed their seals the day and place above mentioned.

[Here follow the signatures.]³⁹

An endorsement of the foregoing treaty reads as follows, dated at Vincennes October 26, 1809:

"A Convention entered into at Vincennes, in the Indiana territory, between William Henry Harrison, Commissioner Plenipotentiary of the United States for treating with the Indian tribes, northwest of the Ohio, and the Wea tribe.

"The said tribe, by their sachems and head warriors, hereby declare their full and free consent to the treaty concluded at Fort Wayne, on the

³⁸Mss. No. 49062 Indiana State Library, 71-74; *Senate Documents*, Volume 39, pages 101 and 102; *American State Papers*, II, *Indian Affairs*, 761.

³⁹Mss. No. 49062, Indiana State Library, 74, 75; *American State Papers*, II, *Affairs*, 761-762; *Senate Documents*, Volume 39, 103.

thirtieth ultimo, by the above mentioned commissioner, with the Delaware, Miami, Pattawatima, and Eel River tribes, and also, to the separate article entered into on the same day with the Miami and Eel River tribes; and the said commissioner on the part of the United States, agrees to allow the said tribe an additional annuity of three hundred dollars, and a present sum of fifteen hundred dollars, in consideration of the relinquishment made in the first article of said treaty; and a further permanent annuity of one hundred dollars, as soon as the Kickapoos can be brought to give their consent to the ninth article of said treaty.⁴⁰

[Then follow the usual signatures.]

In the following treaty the Kickapoos gave their formal consent to the Treaty of Fort Wayne:

"William Henry Harrison, Governor of the Indiana territory, and the sachems and war chiefs of the Kickapoo tribe, on the part of the said tribe, have agreed to the following articles, which, when ratified by the President, by and with the advice of the Senate shall be binding on said parties.

"Art. I. The ninth article of the treaty concluded at Fort Wayne, on the thirtieth of September last, and the cession it contains, is hereby, agreed to by the Kickapoos, and a permanent additional annuity of four hundred dollars, and goods to the amount of eight hundred dollars, now delivered, is to be considered as a full compensation for the said cession.

"Art. II. The said tribe further agrees to cede to the United States, all that tract of land which lies between the tract above ceded, the Wabash, the Vermillion river, and a line to be drawn from the north corner of the said ceded tract, so as to strike the Vermillion river, at the distance of twenty miles, in a direct line from its mouth. For this cession, a further annuity of one hundred dollars, and the sum of seven hundred dollars, in goods, now delivered, is considered as a full compensation. But, if the Miamis should not be willing to sanction the latter cession, and the United States should not think proper to take possession of the land without their consent, they shall be released from the obligation to pay the additional annuity of one hundred dollars.

"Art. III. The stipulations contained in the treaty of Greenville, relative to the manner of paying the annuity, and of the right of the Indians to hunt upon the land, shall apply to the annuity granted and the land ceded by the present treaty.⁴¹

[The signatures follow.]

All the treaties mentioned in this article were ratified by the United States Senate. In transmitting this treaty first before mentioned, General Harrison called attention to the fact that the

⁴⁰ *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, II, 762; *Senate Documents*, Volume 39, page 104; Mss. No. 49062 Indiana State Library, 259.

⁴¹ Mss. No. 49062 Indiana State Library, 262; *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, II, 762-763; *Senate Documents*, No. 39, pages 104 and 105.

Kickapoos had consented to the Treaty of Fort Wayne, September 30, 1809, and also consented to a cession northwest of the Wabash, as high up as the Vermilion river. On December 10, 1809, he wrote :

"This small tract (of about twenty miles square) is one of the most beautiful that can be conceived, and is, moreover, believed to contain a very rich copper mine. I have myself, frequently seen specimens of the copper, one of which I sent to Mr. Jefferson, in 1802. The Indians were so extremely jealous of any search being made for this mine that the traders were always cautioned not to approach the hills, which are supposed to contain the mine."⁴²

It appears that the Indians had large road belts to guide them in the making of these treaties, and in showing the treaty lines.⁴³

The student of the foregoing treaties will observe that the Indians received better pay for the land they ceded in the treaty of September 30, 1809, than they did for any other sale while Indiana was a territory. He will also observe that there was a tendency of each tribe to recognize the right of some other tribe to a quasi title to the land ceded. He will further observe that General Harrison usually stipulated that a compensation would be paid the Indians who signed, when the other tribes agreed to the treaty, etc.

The Indians began to see themselves losing the land, and the tribes in the central and northern part of Indiana began to see white men to the south of them, where once roamed warriors of their own color. The government surveyor, who immediately entered the land after the treaties were signed, began to divide the forests into sections ready for the land offices and settlers. Two hundred and fifty thousand forest trees bearing the marks of the surveyors, tokens of advancing civilization, told the Indians, in a manner not to be misunderstood, that the days of the forest were numbered, and that their possessions were passing away.

Tecumseh was an Indian statesman, in addition to being a warrior. He contended that the Indians held their land in common, and that no one tribe or family could properly convey a part of the Indian territory to the whites. He endeavored to have the Indians unite and to consider their lands as the common property of the whole. He accused General Harrison of taking tribes aside, and advising them not to unite or enter into Tecumseh's Confed-

⁴²*American State Papers, Indian Affairs, II, 762.*

⁴³*Dillon Historical Notes of the Northwestern Territory, 393-396.*

eracy. Tecumseh was particularly severe in his address to General Harrison on August 20, 1810.⁴⁴ The sale of land made at the Treaty of Fort Wayne in 1809 by certain tribes brought forth a remonstrance from Tecumseh, and in time, the dissatisfaction among the Indian warriors caused by the treaties enumerated in this article led to the battle of Tippecanoe, in 1811.

That part of these Indian treaty tracts in which Dubois county can claim a particular interest is the original "Vincennes Tract," and the tract first bought after the Greenville Treaty and which lies immediately south of the "Vincennes Tract." The treaty line is known as the Freeman Line. It enters Dubois county about two and one-fourth miles north of the southwest corner of the county, runs south 78 degrees east [1802], and leaves the county a mile west of the southeast corner of Cass township. The line runs through Dubois county a distance of 7.35 miles, and covers a meridian distance of seven miles. The land north of this line is said to have been sold by Indians at a council at Vincennes, in 1742. This sale was reaffirmed at the Treaty of Greenville, Ohio, in 1795, and again by the treaty of Fort Wayne in 1803. That part south of the line was sold by the Indians, at the Treaty of Vincennes, in 1804. It is said Vincennes became an Indian trading post in 1690, and a French military post, commanded by Francis Morgan DeVincennes under King Charles XIV, in 1702.⁴⁵ Thus we see, the French were at Vincennes one hundred years before Freeman surveyed this line through Dubois county, as indicating the boundary of the territory the French had obtained from the Indians, by treaty, the documentary evidence of which seems to have been lost. The exact location of this Freeman Line with reference to section corners is shown by the plat herewith.

⁴⁴ Dillon *History of Indiana*, 431, 442-447, 454, 455, 473.

⁴⁵Governor Ralston's "Centennial Letter," 1915. Dillon *Historical Notes of the Northwestern Territory*, 100-101.

The Election of 1852 *

BY DALE BEELER, Vice Consul to Rome.

VI THE STATE CAMPAIGN

The candidates on the State ticket filled long schedules of joint political meetings in all parts of the State and from early in the spring until a short time before the election. Messrs. Wright and McCarty, candidates for governor, and Messrs. Willard and Williams, candidates for lieutenant-governor, and others of the leading office-seekers had extended itineraries during most of the campaign. The newspapers seldom reported in full any of the speeches, but always commented on them. A great part was taken in the campaign by the editors who waged an incessant warfare against their political opponents, always seeking to embroil in the general conflict any man who showed signs of fight. One side endeavored to put the other in a hole by digging up some particularly unsavory act in a candidate's past record.

In the campaign of 1852, as in nearly every State campaign since, the candidates pleaded the "farmer" story, pretending a great love and affection for and interest in that body of the citizenship, in order to get the farmers' votes. The leading newspapers of each party engaged, during the campaign, in a controversy as to the early life of their candidates for governor, each trying to make out the strongest case for its own man that he was or had been a farmer, and thus making him eminently qualified to represent the interests of the farmers. This was a necessary qualification for a good candidate for governor. The truth in this case was that neither Wright nor McCarty had ever been a farmer long enough to get the name. McCarty had worked a few months when a young man, while Wright's only claim lay in the fact that he had been a mechanic who worked on farming implements. The fact that while he was governor, he had spoken at several agricultural meetings and at various county fairs, appeared to give the governor the strongest case.

*Concluded from last number.

The *Indiana State Journal* labored long and industriously to manufacture campaign thunder from some of Governor Wright's fervid and over-eloquent protestations of love for Democracy's principles. Daily from March 1 until election day, it gave prominence in its columns to the following words, which Governor Wright had uttered at the time of the State Convention :

"Whigs! Remember that Joseph A. Wright emphatically twice declared, on accepting the nomination of the Democratic Convention, that 'he had rather fall with his political friends than rise with the aid of his political opponents.'"⁴¹

The Democratic press answered this by saying that the *State Journal* inserted the words "the aid of," that Governor Wright did not say them; and further, that what he meant was that "he would rather fall fighting with his friends for his cherished principles, than rise with his opponents, by the sacrifice of any of those principles."⁴²

The Whig papers were not in the least averse to going into Governor Wright's past record to gather utterances of his which might be converted to useful campaign ammunition. The *State Journal* and the *Madison Banner*, both Whig, attacked the governor for his speech at a fair in Cincinnati in 1851, during the heat of the slavery agitation, in which he had said that "all the members of Congress from Indiana, who supported the compromise measures, had misrepresented their constituents and would be defeated if they were candidates for re-election" and "that Indiana would never execute the fugitive slave law." At this time, in 1852, Governor Wright and his party stood for that measure, and now the Whig press was calling upon him to explain the inconsistency of his attitude. Governor Wright was never strong pro-slavery, rather he was more of a Free Soiler. His views as he expressed them on that occasion, are explainable when it is remembered that he expressed the real sentiments of most Indianians at that time when the free men's passions were inflamed by the slavery agitation. The governor was no more inconsistent than many of the Whigs.

The Democratic press refrained from attacking Mr. McCarty to any extent. It may have been because he was commonly recognized as a weak candidate. His career as a noteshaver in connection with the Indianapolis Land Office several years before would have made good campaign material but for the fact that the business seems

⁴¹ *Indiana State Journal*, March 1, 1852.

⁴² *Logansport Democratic Pharos*, May 12, 1852.

to have been a bi-partisan game, with a prominent Democratic leader involved. It would have been as bad for one party as for the other if this subject had been thoroughly aired.

The death of Henry Clay on June 29, 1852, gave the Whig press cause for another sally against Governor Wright's record. This time an attempt was made to get campaign capital from the inconsistency of Wright's criticism of Clay during the campaign of 1844 and his expressions of respect, after Clay's death, for the greatness of the Kentucky Statesman. The *Indiana State Journal* called the Governor a slanderer of Clay for pronouncing hypocritical eulogies. It gave voice to its power of villification in the following words:

"Among all the lean, gaunt, and vindictive blood-hounds, that were ever unleashed from the kennel of Locofocoism, and for years pursued Mr. Clay with slander and detraction, Joseph A. Wright was among the foremost. In 1844, he denounced Mr. Clay as a blackleg, a Sabbath-breaker, and a murderer, declaring with most sanctimonious face, and with up-turned eyes, that the 'blood of poor Cilley (killed in a duel) was upon his hands.'"⁴³

The *State Sentinel* replied that the above article in its length and breadth, was wilfully and maliciously false, and that John D. Defrees, the author, knew it was false when he uttered and published it; that the *Journal* men were soulless villifiers, by whose policy of blackguardism it would never allow itself to be driven from position. These editorials were mere newspaper squabble and had little influence on the voters. The editor of the *State Journal* was more eager to break down the Democrats than to work for the election of General Scott and the Whig ticket. Such an attitude only shows their unconcern as to the outcome of the election. Editor Clarkson of the *Brookville American*, said that neither Scott nor Pierce represented any moral issue and he was perfectly indifferent as to the result of the election. Parker, the only Whig member of Congress from this State, repudiated the Whig platform and ticket.

The *Logansport Democratic Pharos* also indulged in the practice of comparing the lives and records of the Democratic and Whig candidates for governor. As for McCarty, it said that the Whigs talk about that honest, plain, unassuming man as though the article of honesty were a rare commodity at least among the Whigs. Then the *Pharos* tells what an honest, industrious young man Governor

⁴³ *Indiana State Sentinel*, Aug. 30, 1852.

Wright was in his youth, about his life as a student at Indiana University, where, during his attendance, he acted as janitor and door-keeper at that institution, earning, by chopping wood and other services usually considered menial, the means of subsistence while in Bloomington during his college course. The *Sentinel* asserted that the President of the Board of Trustees of Indiana University was the authority for the statement about Wright.

Governor Wright entered the campaign early in April. He usually spoke on some phase of State finances, occasionally changing to the tariff and the subtreasury system when he wished to speak on national issues. He claimed for the Democrats the credit for the redemption of the State from Whig indebtedness and he never failed to extol the wisdom of the sale of the State's interest in the Madison and Indianapolis Railway, a deal which seems to have been engineered by politicians in both parties. The reduction of the State debt which in 1843, following the financial stringency, amounted to near \$15,000,000, which he had reduced by one-half—by repudiation, some said—was one of Governor Wright's main sources of campaign argument. In a speech made on one of the joint tours with McCarty, he said: "What is now the condition of the State? About one-half of the State debt discharged, and the interest on the balance promptly paid. The credit of the State is good at home and abroad; and the sun rises this day upon a million of her children prosperous and happy. Are not these things so? And by whose policy has this change been produced? There is no man in Indiana, who knows her history but that will, in the honest conviction of his heart, say it was the Democratic policy that has redeemed our fallen State."⁴⁴ About one-half of the State debt was cancelled by the Butler Bill of 1846 and its amendment of 1847, according to which the old canal was given to the bondholders for one-half of the bonds.

Nicholas McCarty had been a merchant most of his life and therefore was not very well versed in the arts and tricks of the political campaigning. He was a plain, unassuming man, so plain, in fact, that he never made a hit with his audience by displaying his oratorical powers. McCarty's lack of experience in the art of stump-speaking was well-known to most people, including the Democratic press. The statement issued by McCarty after the Whig State Convention that he would take no active part in the campaign gave

⁴⁴ *Indiana State Journal*, April 2, 1852.

occasion to the *Huntington Democrat* to express satisfaction with such a course. That paper said:

"It is understood that Mr. McCarty will remain at home throughout the entire campaign, being a little timorous about meeting Wright on the stump. That's a sensible arrangement on his part. For him to canvass the State in opposition to Jo. Wright would be only time and money thrown away, and it seems he knows it."⁴⁵

Expressions of this kind by the opposition served to draw Mr. McCarty from his retirement, as on March 16, he resigned his seat in the State Senate because

"his nomination as the Whig candidate for governor, and his determination to devote a considerable portion of his time in visiting different portions of the State, renders it necessary for him to resign."

The *Indiana State Journal*, throughout the campaign, manifested great confidence that the elections would result favorably to the Whigs. Soon after the opening of the State campaign, it expressed its confidence in the following words:

"There never has been a time in Indiana, since 1840, that the Whigs felt more confident of success than now. Since the news of the nominations made by the Whig Convention has reached the various parts of the State, we have received many letters of the most encouraging character. In every neighborhood the right kind of spirit to secure victory seems to pervade the Whig ranks."⁴⁶

The Whigs tried to make their prospects look a little more rosy by putting out rumors to the effect that many Democrats of Northern Indiana were so much displeased with the ticket composed mostly of Democrats from Southern Indiana that they would refuse to support it. The threat, if it was made, does not seem to have been carried out.

The Whigs and Democrats in many places in the State held jollification meetings following the news of their Presidential nominations, and at other times during the campaign. The press, in the period from April to November, carried an almost daily account of a ratification meeting or pole-raising somewhere in the State. Guns, bonfires, cannon and fire works were a few of the means to which the enthusiastic partisans resorted. Balloon ascensions, quite a novelty in that day, occurred at Indianapolis and Lafayette on the

⁴⁵ *Huntington Democrat*, March 15, 1852.

⁴⁶ *Indiana State Journal*, March 11, 1852.

occasion of jollification meetings. The newspapers of one party, in reporting an account of the meetings of the other party, always emphasized the poor attendance and conduct. On the other hand, when their own party held a meeting, the newspaper account dwells long on the enormous crowds that swarmed to hear the speaker, the number always taxing the capacity of the halls or grounds, and the great enthusiasm of everyone. A Democratic political meeting at Edinburg, on September 9, which was addressed by Thomas A. Hendricks, candidate for Congress, was reported by the Whig papers as having been postponed once because of the small audience, and when it did take place, there were only thirteen men and boys present. "About fifteen men and boys" was a favorite number with the Whig press when reporting Democratic meetings. The Democratic press was equally guilty of this practice. The papers frequently gave the speeches bitter and sarcastic criticisms.⁴⁷

In many instances, there were attempts, sometimes successful, made by rowdies of one party to disturb and to break up the political meetings of the other party. The practice was general and there were several cases of it in Indianapolis. But the most prominent case was that at New Albany just before election. The editor of the Democratic *Ledger*, John Norman, publicly accused the editor of the Whig New Albany *Tribune* of instigating the disturbance at the meeting held by the Democrats. The *Tribune* editor, P. M. Kent, did not deny the accusation, probably because he considered it as one of the legitimate tricks of the game. A great many voters of both parties had little interest in the campaign, so it may be that their conduct at political meetings was nothing more than horseplay.

The newspapers made good use of campaign poetry as a means of arousing enthusiasm and getting in an additional thrust at the enemy. Some of the poems were not of a very high class, but they all served the purpose.⁴⁸

The Free Soilers were most frequently troubled by having their

⁴⁷ *Indiana State Journal*, June 15, 1852. Hon. John W. Davis of Carlisle, Indiana, spoke to Democrats at Indianapolis June 14. *Journal*: "His speech lasted three-quarters of an hour, during which he completely enchanted the audience (judging from the absence of applause), glorified the 'gallant,' 'noble,' 'Young Hickory of the Granite State,' and gave the Whigs particular saltpeter."

⁴⁸ *Indiana State Sentinel*, Aug. 30, 1852. "Such kind of stuff is all the argument that Whigs can hunt up in favor of Nick McCarty. It is now going the rounds of the Whig press in the State."

"Let fools unite

And vote for Wright,
Just to support the party,

While those who know

A thing or two
Will go for Nick McCarty."

meetings disturbed or broken up. They carried on their campaign work mostly in connection with church activities. Andrew L. Robinson, Free Soil candidate for governor, who made speeches in Evansville, New Albany, Madison and other towns on the Kentucky border, without interruption or annoyance, according to the *New Albany Daily Ledger*, was not permitted to speak at Terre Haute, far away from any influence which slaveholders might be expected to wield.⁴⁹

VII. THE NATIONAL CAMPAIGN

The national campaign may be said to have opened soon after the national conventions were over. The Democratic *Empire* said that "the opening of the Presidential campaign on the Democratic side, calls vividly to mind the good old Jackson times." And then the *Indiana State Journal* pointedly remarked: "Perhaps it does—by contrast; just as a famine is apt to revive the memory of the feast."⁵⁰ There certainly was a famine of real Democratic enthusiasm when the campaign began, and concerning this apparent deficiency, the *State Journal* continued:

"The great lack of enthusiasm among the Democrats for their candidates is occasioned by their obscurity in public life. Few people anywhere, including Indiana, know anything about the candidates. So there is little room either for criticism or enthusiasm."

A most correct diagnosis of the situation! Then the *State Journal* quotes from the Charleston (S. C.) *Mercury*, as follows:

"When a party throws aside all its most distinguished men, the only men capable of giving consistency to its counsel and vigor to its movements—when it disowns its leaders and representatives, and for motives of temporary advantage, crowns with highest honors obscure men, it ceases, in any respectable sense, to be a party, and becomes a mere herd of spoilsmen. We have no ambition to labor in such a crowd."⁵⁰

The *State Journal*, in giving its opinion of Pierce, first quoted General Pickett, one of the Democratic stumpers of Tennessee, who said: that "the Presidency should never be awarded to any man on account of eminent services," and then it adds, "if this be so, then have the Democracy been very fortunate in their selection."⁵¹

⁴⁹ *New Albany Daily Ledger*, Oct. 28, 1852.

⁵⁰ *Indiana State Journal*, June 25, 1852.

"Obscurity of Pierce," James Schouler, *History of the U. S.*, Vol. 5, Chap. XX, p. 244.

⁵¹ *Indiana State Journal*, Sept. 30, 1852.

The Whig newspapers of the State took great delight in the many mistakes which the Democrats made in reporting the name of their Presidential candidate. Lists of these errors were run in the Whig papers. Many of the names were given by the editors of the country newspapers who, not knowing the real name, made one of their own. Also, the Whigs invented some of the names for their own use. The *State Journal* conducted an unrelenting editorial attack against General Pierce up until the very day of the election. It did almost everything possible to belittle and heap ridicule upon the Democratic candidate. It made light of Pierce's war record, saying that :

"Next to making a 'whistle out of a pig's ear' the attempt at manufacturing Franklin Pierce, Attorney and Counselor at Law and Solicitor in Chancery, into a military hero, is the most provoking."

The Whigs worked hard to make capital of the fact that the New Hampshire constitution excluded Catholics from holding office and General Pierce was a member of the convention that drafted the constitution. They contended that the Democrats controlled the state and made the law; therefore that in the convention they were against the Catholics. General Pierce was in the convention, but there was plenty of proof to show that he opposed the provision relating to Catholic exclusion. In their turn, the Democrats often accused Scott of being a Catholic and a Catholic sympathizer, therefore the Native Whigs could not support him, nor could the Know-Nothings. This accusation was not well founded, as General Scott was an Episcopalian.

The Indiana Whigs began the national campaign by organizing Chippewa Clubs all over the State. The *Indiana State Journal* endorsed the idea of closer organization. These clubs usually conducted the Whig rallies and pole-raising.

On July 1st, the Whigs of Indianapolis had a great ratification meeting to endorse the nomination of the Whig National Convention. Resolutions were adopted which gave approval for the Scott and Graham nominations; for Fillmore's conduct in office and his good service; and expressing sorrow at the death of Henry Clay, an event which the *Indiana State Journal* called "a great national calamity, as creating a void in the councils of our country that can not be filled." Col. Henry S. Lane, of Montgomery county, made the main address. The Whigs declared that they had flourished

in 1840 on Hard Cider; in 1852 they would meet with equal success on Scott Soup and Graham Bread. On this occasion they raised a tall, thin pole bearing a Scott banner, but the pole soon broke, the event causing much amusement for the *State Sentinel*. The *State Journal* retorted that "any sapling will bear up the Pierce flag, for it is a name of no weight; but it takes something of a pole to float the great name of General Scott. Common timber won't do it." Music for the ratification meeting was furnished by the Chippewa Glee Club of the city.

The Whigs worked hard to make the tariff the leading issue of the campaign. While the Democrats were busy telling the voters the beneficent effects which the country was enjoying under the equitable Walker Tariff of 1846, they were engaged in reciting the iniquities of such half-hearted protection and loudly declared that the ruination of American industries was speedily being brought about. The *Indiana State Journal* carried a series of articles on tariff and protection which were intended to show the ill-effects of the Walker Tariff for revenue of 1846. They laid great emphasis on the decrease in foreign exportation and attendant increase in the amount of imports and the bad business conditions. They deplored the large shipments of specie sent from this country to Europe. This series of articles was signed by Americus of Philadelphia, Indiana, but the author was most likely O. H. Smith.

In the tariff controversy carried on during the campaign, the Whigs, in order to cite Democratic authority in the justification of protection, resurrected the old "Coleman letter," which General Jackson had written to Governor Ray, of Indiana, during his first administration. In this letter General Jackson had said that he favored a "judicious protection." The *State Journal* professed to believe and labored vigorously to make the voters believe that the Democrats, by free trade or low tariff, were sacrificing the American manufactures to the English merchants. It went so far as to declare that there was an alliance between the Locofoco party in the United States and the English merchants, to break down American manufactures and thus secure the market for England. The *State Journal* published items from three London papers purporting to show English preference for Pierce's success, though the truth was those papers expressed general indifference to the American election and stated that in event of General Pierce's success, the Democrats would continue to conduct commercial relations on the principle of

trade co-operation. The Whigs used this as another ruse to arouse opposition to the Democrats among the Irish by declaring that the Democracy was allied with England through free trade, which would not be for the welfare of Irishmen.

As the campaign was drawing to a close, the papers of both parties began to publish long lists of the names of voters who were not going to support their party nominees. The *New Albany Tribune* was the most notorious offender along this line. Many days its lists of "come-outers" from the Democratic party became so extensive that they were obliged to shorten the number for lack of space to print the names and frequently the *Tribune* editor would insert a statement to the effect that certain news items were postponed until the following day in order that in the issue at hand there might be space to publish the names of the Democrats who were flocking to support General Scott. The Democratic press was also guilty of using this method.⁵² Those voters who went from one party to the other were generally known as "backfirers," "come-outers," and their act was called "firing in the rear."

On September 11, the Democrats of Indianapolis had a grand rally with Judge Stephen A. Douglas, U. S. Senator from Illinois, as the chief orator of the day. Previous to the meeting, the Granite Clubs of the city, with most of the Democrats, had a procession which the *Indiana State Journal* reported as consisting of two carriages, and one buggy, the military company and just thirty-nine other persons, all told. The *State Journal* severely criticized Judge Douglas's speech and thereby aroused the ire of William J. Brown, the editor of the *Sentinel*. A few days later he flung a hot shot of the following calibre into the *Journal* camp:

"The *Journal* persists in its scurrilous abuse of Judge Douglas, and attempts to justify it. Though its course in this matter may be perfectly self-satisfactory, we are much mistaken if the correct taste and good sense of the decent portion of the Whig party is not outraged by such billingsgate."⁵³

⁵² *Indiana State Journal*, Aug. 28, 1852. "In 1840, and in 1848, the Democratic papers were filled with names of John Smiths and Jim Browns who would not vote for 'Old Granny Harrison' in 1840, and for 'Old Noodle-head Taylor' in 1848. The election day arrived, and we got along very well, without these gentlemen. The same trick is now being performed. Whole counties and even States of people won't go for 'Old Fuss and Feathers,' any way it can be fixed! Well, we shall see on election day. It will come out about as it did in 1840 and 1848."

⁵³ *Indiana State Journal*, Sept. 21, 1852.

Both parties made use to the fullest advantage of the war records of their candidates. The Democrats attacked General Scott for what they called his unjustifiable conduct in both the War of 1812 and the Mexican War. They even figured up the total amount of his salary which he had drawn from the government during forty years of service, and then they raised the howl for economy. The Whigs made light of Pierce's military record in Mexico, declaring that he fainted in battle at the sight of blood from a wound inflicted by falling from his horse. The Whigs thought that General Scott's long faithful and patriotic services to his country were in themselves, sufficient qualifications to fit him for the Presidency. His dealings with foreign-born citizens had been so extensive and varied, and his attitude on the period of naturalization required of immigrants had been so changeable that he was obliged to explain his position on the subject of naturalization in order to prevent the Democrats from making effective appeals to the foreign-born vote by circulating false stories as to his belief. Webster had few if any supporters in Indiana, or even the West; his strength was in the East. The defection of the Webster faction from the Whig regular ticket was denied by the Whig press of Indiana, but the papers from time to time, contained bitter expressions regarding Webster's attitude. His seventh of March speech had cost him the respect of most Northern Whigs.⁵⁴ Webster at no time was out of harmony with the Baltimore platform, but Whig leaders would not be reconciled because of his past acts and his refusal to participate in the campaign now. Even when news of Webster's death, on October 24, reached this State, the leading Whig papers of Indiana failed to show his memory the usual respect by wearing mourning, and they gave very little notice concerning his death. In contrast, the Democratic press accorded the noted statesman the customary respect of an opposition press, and the New Albany *Daily Ledger*, considered by many as the most liberal paper in the State, wore, on the morning following Webster's death, a full dress of mourning and carried a most praiseworthy eulogy of his life and services. The *Indiana State Journal*, the New Albany *Tribune* and other Whig papers passed him by with a wave of the hand, a few lines, a mere squib. The thoughts of the Whig editors were poorly concealed behind the veil of silence and the denial of the facts only helped to betray the true state of affairs within the Whig party.

⁵⁴ See J. G. Whittier's "Ichabod."

As soon as the campaign started, the campaign poets began to produce poetry of varying kinds, ranging from short battle-cries to long, romantic lyrics. All the newspapers were well supplied during the campaign with these literary efforts.⁵⁵

VIII THE ELECTIONS AND RESULTS

The State election was held October 12. The Democrats in several places accused the Whigs of using unfair means to promote their success. On the day preceding the election, the *New Albany Daily Ledger* gave strong exhortations to the Democrats to beware of fraudulent tickets on which the name of Mr. Willard, Democratic

⁵⁵ Here are a few samples of poetry:

WHIG WAR-CRY.

Damn the Locos,
Kill 'em—slay 'em!
Give 'em hell!
With Scott and Graham!
—N. A. *Daily Ledger*, Sept. 10, 1852.

FIRST DEMOCRATIC RALLYING SONG.

Fling forth our banner gallantly,
And let the people sing—
Hurrah for old Democracy—
Hurrah for Pierce and King.
Come brave Locos—
Gallant men and true,
The Whigs were Polked in '44
We'll Pierce in fifty-two.
—N. A. *Daily Ledger*, June 8, 1852.

A SONG FOR SCOTT AND GRAHAM.

In Baltimore the Whigs agreed
Upon their candidate;
And mean that he shall be the man
To guide the Ship of State,
He bears a name that is without
A blemish or a spot—
A patriot, hero, statesman, sage—
Who else but Winfield Scott.
Hie Lokies! Ho Lokies!
Listen while we sing,
Hurrah, hurrah, for noble Scott,
And down with Pierce and King.
—*Indiana State Journal*.

candidate for lieutenant-governor, had been replaced by the name of Mr. Williams, the Whig candidate for that office. The *Ledger* warned the Democrats to read carefully their ticket to see that every name was on it. This paper accused the Whig *Tribune* office of printing these tickets and Whig leaders of putting them into circulation. Other towns witnessed similar trouble from the use of mixed and scratched tickets, usually called fraudulent, but not technically so.⁵⁶

The returns for the election came in very slowly from the outlying parts of the State. By October 14, sufficient news as to the general trend had been received by the *Indiana State Journal* to bring it to the point of reluctantly admitting defeat. The *State Journal* had never had any great hopes that McCarty would be elected, as it admitted a few weeks before the election that it hardly expected McCarty to win, but was counting strongly on Scott to triumph. In the eleven congressional districts of the State, only one Whig was elected, the others being Democrats. These men were to take office in the first session of Congress in 1853. The last congressional election had been held in August, 1851, the men elected serving until the first session of 1853. This election was held according to the regulations of the old State constitution which became ineffective after 1851. The successful candidates in October, 1852, were as follows:

First District, Smith Miller; Second District, W. H. English; Third District, Cyrus L. Dunham; Fourth District, James H. Lane; Fifth District, Samuel W. Parker (Whig); Sixth District, Thomas A. Hendricks; Seventh District, John G. Davis; Eighth District, Daniel Mace; Ninth District, Norman Eddy; Tenth District, E. M. Chamberlain; Eleventh District, Andrew J. Harlan. Total—Democrats, 10; Whigs, 1.

The other State election returns are included in the same table with those of the National election. The *Indiana State Journal* ascribed this decisive defeat of its State ticket to the large numbers of foreigners in Indiana who voted the Democratic ticket, having been let in under the new Democratic State constitution of 1851.

⁵⁶ Each candidate had his own tickets printed. A straight ticket contained all the candidates of the party. If a voter so desired, he might have a man in another party insert his name on the ticket in place of the regular candidate. Tickets so altered and distributed indiscriminately without notice might carry the intent to defraud, but whether it was fraudulent depended entirely upon the voter.

In the preceding year more than four hundred Germans had settled in Marion county alone. The *State Journal* said the Whigs had the satisfaction of knowing that the better class of citizens voted the Whig ticket, to which the *Peru Sentinel*, Democratic, answered as follows:

"The *State Journal* man at Indianapolis has already commenced showing his true feelings toward our foreign population. In accounting for the recent overwhelming defeat of Whiggery in this State, he says the foreign vote is the cause. They (Whigs) have the consolation of knowing that all the better portion of our citizens voted the Whig ticket. If this view of the case affords him consolation, it would be cruel to disturb him in his agreeable fantasies."⁵⁷

The State election had scarcely passed by and the returns were not all in when the day of the National election approached. It was November 2. Indiana and even the whole Union appeared to have lost interest in the outcome. The voters were aware that an election was at hand, but they failed to manifest much understanding of the significance of the event. The political horizon was dimmed by few signs of an approaching tempest, few traces of the terrible breakers. There seemed nothing but a clear sky with all signs propitious to an era of peace and industrial development. There was scarcely a breath of political agitation, of any importance, stirring; everywhere was the calm, so quiet and oppressive that, only to the more discerning eye, it was evident that it could not long continue. Voters acquiesced with sullen silence in the conditions then existing and voted to continue such conditions. The Democrats solemnly declared the accomplishment of peace and prosperity to depend on the universal acquiescence in and recognition of the "finality"; for the Whigs, it all depended on the success of their party at the polls. The following quotation from the *Logansport Democratic Pharos*, on the eve of the national battle, well illustrates Democracy's position:

"The approaching presidential election is one of the deepest interest; and, indeed, it may be said without exaggeration, to be one of the most vitally important that ever has been held. It is not merely, as is alleged by some, to turn on a preference of men, or on a scramble for office, or mainly even on the issues which hitherto divided the parties; but it is to turn principally and really on the *finality* of the compromise, however much some may attempt to conceal the fact."⁵⁸

⁵⁷ *Indiana State Journal*, Oct. 29, 1852.

⁵⁸ *Logansport Democratic Pharos*, Oct. 27, 1852.

There is no doubt that the issue of "finality" did not influence some sections of the country, but it is true that there was somewhat of a scramble for office. The *State Journal*, on election day, recounted at considerable length the dire disasters which would befall the nation, in event of their opponents' triumph. It said:

"The result of the election today is of vast consequence to the future of this country. The triumph of the Democracy would see the destruction of the little protection now existing. Then would the spirit of conquest and lawlessness be fostered and encouraged until our country would be involved in war. Cuba would be seized upon and appropriated to our own use in defiance of existing treaty stipulations with Spain. Then would the slavery question, which so recently threatened to destroy our country, and is now so happily settled, be opened again, not to be closed otherwise than by a dissolution of the Union.⁵⁹

How true the *State Journal* spoke in the last sentence history alone has proven. The returns from the election came to the press very slowly. Two days after the election the *State Journal* had received enough of the results to bring the editor to admit defeat. The editor deeply regretted that the people put aside their famous hero for such an obscure individual as Pierce. The returns for the State and national elections were completed about a month afterward and published in the *Indiana State Journal*. The following table of returns shows the vote by counties for the presidential and gubernatorial candidates:⁶⁰

COUNTIES.	President.			Governor.		
	Pierce	Scott	Hale	Wright	McCarty	Robinson
Adams -----	672	362	14	652	329	4
Allen -----	1,964	1,225	24	1,804	963	11
Bartholomew -----	1,512	1,245	26	1,412	1,097	11
Benton -----	138	110	19	144	106	--
Blackford -----	263	108	15	340	110	8
Boone -----	1,161	936	109	1,113	919	27
Brown -----	532	102	--	606	120	--
Carrol -----	1,256	1,075	29	1,209	909	3
Cass -----	1,190	1,176	50	1,189	994	8
Clark -----	1,812	1,186	24	1,683	1,068	6
Clay -----	743	474	8	820	388	--
Clinton -----	1,250	929	75	1,180	841	--
Crawford -----	499	502	--	524	528	--
Daviess -----	720	726	6	795	549	--
Dearborn -----	2,486	1,474	89	2,436	1,477	15
Decatur -----	1,394	1,364	138	1,392	1,345	83
DeKalb -----	780	391	164	684	386	95
Delaware -----	937	1,083	11	892	991	3

⁵⁹ *Indiana State Journal*, Nov. 2, 1852.

⁶⁰ *Indiana State Journal*, Dec. 6, 1852.

COUNTIES.	President.			Governor.		
	Pierce	Scott	Hale	Wright	McCarty	Robinson
Dubois	717	229	--	883	206	--
Elkhart	1,343	1,068	28	1,271	873	--
Fayette	872	1,019	80	869	921	60
Floyd	1,815	1,328	1	1,851	1,260	3
Fountain	1,496	1,023	64	1,267	803	12
Franklin	1,956	1,473	30	1,973	1,413	11
Fulton	581	559	6	561	522	--
Gibson	1,127	942	20	1,020	842	--
Grant	836	599	345	925	712	199
Greene	944	884	4	1,048	785	--
Hamilton	961	971	401	893	952	293
Hancock	1,002	823	40	980	758	--
Harrison	1,278	1,284	--	1,155	1,158	--
Hendricks	980	1,252	156	925	1,223	23
Henry	1,226	1,559	456	1,179	1,527	358
Howard	526	539	165	465	516	88
Huntington	888	706	38	797	682	--
Jackson	1,188	614	--	1,088	484	10
Jasper	347	357	33	317	299	--
Jay	500	375	135	562	426	55
Jefferson	2,263	2,016	286	2,064	1,845	168
Jennings	1,104	998	59	1,037	954	13
Johnson	1,333	896	20	1,172	775	4
Knox	1,003	1,167	--	938	987	--
Kosciusko	938	1,045	26	919	1,000	16
LaGrange	677	677	117	746	709	--
Lake	334	230	58	465	228	--
Laporte	1,468	1,357	136	1,330	1,226	3
Lawrence	1,113	1,054	14	1,116	978	--
Madison	1,282	1,004	83	1,253	942	--
Marion	2,599	2,158	112	2,469	2,075	28
Marshall	511	343	56	508	322	18
Martin	519	377	5	621	235	--
Miami	1,196	994	76	1,139	924	--
Monroe	1,085	622	87	1,151	629	37
Montgomery	1,852	1,559	100	1,772	1,527	45
Morgan	1,181	1,109	132	1,158	1,169	5
Noble	807	606	79	779	587	25
Ohio	455	432	2	460	408	--
Orange	1,022	747	3	977	583	--
Owen	1,060	901	20	849	705	8
Parke	1,084	1,312	105	1,157	1,181	19
Perry	659	684	3	724	653	--
Pike	688	538	1	809	499	2
Porter	527	444	88	532	379	20
Posey	1,433	784	26	1,368	595	4
Pulaski	333	210	1	360	178	--
Putnam	1,466	1,712	22	1,418	1,449	--
Randolph	993	900	530	988	965	442
Ripley	1,386	1,119	113	1,466	1,183	72
Rush	1,480	1,507	119	1,406	1,466	51
Scott	559	518	11	586	505	9
Shelby	1,627	1,286	27	1,629	1,071	--
Spencer	710	685	1	757	577	24
Starke	122	66	--	144	51	--
Steuben	543	487	90	502	503	41
St. Joseph	1,052	998	174	979	928	122
Sullivan	1,203	529	--	1,188	399	--

Switzerland -----	1,147	1,134	7	1,098	979	----
Tippecanoe -----	2,446	1,918	143	1,912	1,471	77
Tipton -----	461	340	7	457	293	4
Union -----	626	584	149	611	576	86
Vanderburg -----	1,317	945	6	1,300	838	----
Vermillion -----	783	852	4	763	717	1
Vigo -----	1,155	1,694	8	1,112	1,350	----
Wabash -----	959	1,145	91	952	1,018	----
Warren -----	552	850	56	464	705	1
Warrick -----	1,034	487	31	1,056	435	16
Washington -----	1,613	1,093	11	1,576	939	2
Wayne -----	1,874	2,304	786	1,763	2,142	553
Wells -----	710	415	23	625	391	----
White -----	536	510	13	497	453	----
Whitely -----	568	497	11	550	462	1
Total -----	95,299	80,901	6,934	92,576	73,641	3,303

The vote for Hale and Julian was unexpectedly small, having decreased about one-fourth in Indiana since the preceding presidential election. This party, the Free Soil, had served its purpose and could no longer exist as a separate organization.

For the session of 1852-53, the Indiana State Legislature was composed as follows:

	Dem.	Whig.
Senate -----	34	16
House of Representatives -----	66	34

When the result was commonly known as a Democratic triumph, the Whig papers began their work as "calamity howlers," each for its own community predicting great evils to come upon the nation during the next administration. The *Indiana State Journal* started out two days after the election with the following:

"The forcible extension of slavery and the formation of a batch of slave States will again unchain the spirit of disunion and civil war. Such will be the legitimate result of the late election, and we say—let it come! We want to see the writhing of those who will have thus brought upon the country so terrible a scourge."

The editor was partly correct in his prediction.

The Democrats celebrated their victory in such a half-hearted manner that the Whigs expressed disappointment. The Democrats were neither surprised nor gratified at their success. They expected to carry the elections but probably never dreamed of the magnitude of their victory, which, great as it was, failed to arouse the old-time enthusiasm.

The election had resulted in a sweeping defeat of the Whig forces. The seriousness of the disaster was not immediately apparent, although some of the wise men in the party, like Greeley, and a few Democratic editors pretended to see the total dissolution of the Whig party at hand. The New Albany *Daily Ledger* was one of the Democratic papers which firmly believed that the Whig party had been killed and now would be superseded by a new party, the Seward-Abolition party. On November 16, the *Daily Ledger* carried the following article on the future of the Whig party, written by Horace Greeley for his New York *Tribune*:

"General Scott is overwhelmingly defeated, and the Whig party not merely discomfited but annihilated. We have no prophetic ken, and make no pretensions to reading the future; but we do not see how the Whig party as such can ever be rallied again. Defeat is but accidental, to which any party may be subjected; but a defeat based on comprehensive, systematic treachery, like that just experienced (through Fillmore and Webster), can hardly be other than conclusive."

After considering the effect which the election did have on the Whig party, the only conclusion is that Horace Greeley was right in his belief.

IX THE CONCLUSION

Democracy's triumph in 1852 was nothing more than a barren victory. The battle in Indiana had been fought listlessly and with little popular interest. Although there had been occasions when enthusiasm was displayed, yet the political meetings had lacked the life and spirit of the preceding campaigns. The spirit of a political campaign depends almost wholly upon the interest aroused in the issues. In this campaign the issues no longer deserved the name; they were dead, notwithstanding the efforts of the politicians to inject life into the "finality" question. The politicians fought over the carrion of extinct political questions; they fought for the offices, for there was little else at stake. Office was the real issue, and its cause was championed by Democrats and Whigs alike. Victory meant no triumph of political principles; instead, it carried with it this time only jobs for so many hungry aspirants. Voters went to the polls because they had to discharge a citizens' duty, not with the belief that their vote was needed to help onward some all-important issue.

The result of the elections this year, favorable as they were to the Democrats, was not an indication or proof that the Democrats

had made a glorious, aggressive fight against a worthy and valiant foe. The Democrats appeared to be united, but the Free Soil element of the party stayed away from the polls. The Whigs had had to fight disunion and sedition within their own ranks during the campaign, so they were in no condition to win from the Democratic hosts already strongly intrenched in the State offices and backed by well-organized party machinery. Occasionally there were heard, in those days, the complaints of the party masses against the bad practices of the machine politicians who were the men that forced the compromise legislation upon the people. The Democratic leaders were very successful in bringing their followers to believe that "finality" of the compromise legislation was absolutely necessary to the continued existence of the Union. Many Democrats considered that they were performing a patriotic service by voting to keep in office the political leaders who had enacted the compromise measures two years before. Others in this party were uninfluenced by the plea of the politicians. It is impossible to know what might have happened if there had been no general acquiescence in the finality; civil war then, instead of a decade later, might have resulted.

The campaign and election of 1852 marked the last important contest by the Whigs. The Jacksonian Democracy, likewise, made its final stand at this same time. Hereafter the Free Soil men, the Conscience Whigs and the Jacksonian Democrats were to be found fighting together for a common cause. Two short years intervened until a new political organization arose from the ashes of the old Whig party, a new organization which included almost all the leading Democratic editors of Indiana in its ranks. That element of Indiana Democracy, in the Northern part of the State, which complained because they were accorded such slight recognition in the selection of the Democratic State ticket, was ready to shift its support to any party that would treat it fairly. And that element of the Whig party which believed that its rights had been violated and its protests stifled by the Whig politicians during the Slavery controversy, gladly welcomed the opportunity for the political freedom offered by the new party. By the time another National election was at hand, these various elements were fighting side by side under the common banner of Republicanism. The most significant result of the election of 1852 was that it laid the foundations of a new political organization, the Republican party.

Samuel Merrill, Indiana's Second State Treasurer (1792-1855)

(FROM THE PAPERS OF CATHARINE MERRILL.)

Samuel Merrill, born October 29, 1792, in Peacham, Vermont, and died in Indianapolis, August 24, 1855, was the second son of Jesse and Priscilla Merrill. The first American Merrill was a Puritan who left England in 1637, and settled the next year in Ipswich, Massachusetts. His name was Nathaniel. His descendants in a direct line to the subject of the present notice, were Abel, Nathaniel, Samuel, Samuel and Jesse. The second Samuel lost his father when very young, and seems to have been thrown entirely on his own resources; which, however, were sufficient. By farming and lumbering he acquired a handsome property. He joined the Revolutionary army during Burgoyne's invasion, and as captain of a company, was present at the surrender at Saratoga.

The following paragraph from a private letter written by a granddaughter of Captain Merrill gives something of his character, as well as that of his wife:

"Our grandfather was a man of a good deal of energy and independence of character, with great firmness and tenacity of purpose. Of course, this made an enterprising man. Such he was. His business extended over much of New Hampshire and Vermont. Withal he was eminently social, quick at repartee, a most genial companion, and not wanting in the little comities of life. Now, if you have known in any of his descendants, a something of the severe (not sour or morose, hardly indeed severe) with an apparent determination not to be driven to talk, and an ability to confer with one's self, notwithstanding surroundings, added to all a sarcasm seldom used, but always ready and keen as 'Damascene blade,' making the flesh to quiver at the thought of it, I say when you find these traits, it is their inheritance from Abigail Eaton, the wife of Samuel Merrill, a woman of great excellence of character and propriety of manner, of whom all the world were ready to aver that she never uttered a wrong or useless word.

Is it to be wondered that nine 'live' boys, reared by such a mother with no sister, should lack somewhat the effects of a softening influence?"

These nine rugged sons were accustomed to steady labor, and were sometimes subjected to severe hardships in rafting and boating wood and ship timber on the Merrimack river. None of them formed bad habits. The oldest children, Jesse was the second, received but a limited education. Jesse Merrill married Priscilla Kimball, and took her immediately to a new farm he had begun making in Peacham, Vermont. He was an industrious farmer, an active and upright citizen. He held at different times numerous town offices, and was four years a member of the Vermont legislature. Both he and his wife took great pains to supply their want of early education, and to gratify in their children a stronger than ordinary love of knowledge. Mrs. Merrill was in all the relations of life noble and excellent. In their love and admiration of her, her children were enthusiasts. When in after life they instructed their own daughters, they illustrated their idea of womanhood by the tender, generous and just character of their mother.

For forty years Peacham was happy in one minister, and that one a good and great man, the Rev. Leonard Worcester. The town was fortunate also in its academy, celebrated for many years among the good schools of New England. Under the influence of Mr. Worcester, whose preaching everybody attended, and of the excellent teachers in the academy, seven Merrill children, six boys and one girl, grew to maturity. James was the eldest son, Samuel the second. The two brothers went to school together, read the same books, and continually talked over together what they heard and read. The encouragement they thus gave each other was such that when rewards for excelling at school were proposed, neither of them ever failed. When the boys were respectively ten and seven years old, it was proposed that all the scholars in the academy, who by a particular day could not be caught in Webster's spelling book, should be entitled to a picture book. On the arrival of the day, the boys and girls, about one hundred in number, were placed on the outside seats of a large room to change their places to the center of the room as they missed. Among seven, who held out to the last, the two youngest were James and Samuel. The influences of the prizes they then won were not lost on either

of them. Confidence that they could succeed enabled them to succeed.

At the beginning of 1800 the attention of the whole civilized world was fixed upon the career of Napoleon. "Peacham corner" had an interest scarcely less keen and vivid than that of London. News came from Boston once a week, the stage arriving at eight or nine in the evening. On mail day the two boys, after the farm work, which was no light matter, would plod through the darkness, nearly two miles to the postoffice, feeling themselves amply rewarded as they carried home the Boston Journal. The Merrill children were all voracious readers, and they acquired an accurate knowledge of Josephus and other books of like character that formed their father's small library.

From the academy, James and Samuel entered Dartmouth College. After graduating, the elder left to teach school and study law in York, Pennsylvania, the younger joining him the next year, 1813. The school employed besides the two brothers, Thaddeus Stevens and John Blanchard, also from Peacham and from Dartmouth, and also students of law. The friendship of these young men, formed in boyhood, continued through life. A year or two before the death of Thaddeus Stevens, in that memorable winter, when the feeble but fierce old man seemed to cling to life but to denounce dishonest and half-hearted measures and cut right and left with the double-edged sword of his satire, a visitor to Washington referred in his presence to the friend of his youth, Samuel Merrill. The old man in a breaking voice, but still mindful of the present, exclaimed, "Ah, why is it that he is dead! Why should heaven, already thronged with the pure and noble, rob us of one so needed here!"

After three years in York, Mr. Merrill came to Indiana, and, looking first at Vincennes, determined to settle in Vevay. He found it impossible to get a conveyance from New Albany, and he bought a boat, and putting in it his trunk and a number of law books, he rowed himself seventy miles up the river to Vevay. He was then twenty-four years old. To the last week of his life he retained this vigorous self-reliance. When he was fifty-seven he rowed an equal distance with one assistant, in an open boat on the Mississippi, carrying the drowned and coffined body of a little

grandson from the woods near New Madrid, Missouri, where it had been buried by strangers.

Within a year from the time he began to practice law, Mr. Merrill married Lydia Jane Anderson, the daughter of a widow in Vevay.

It is not a little singular in the history of Samuel Merrill, of the two brothers next younger than he, and of his elder brother, that none of them for near ten years after they commenced professional life did anything more than to pave the way for future operations. If they had used spirits even moderately it is not unlikely that the small sums required for this would have interfered materially with their ultimate success, and Mr. Merrill was confident that if he had used tobacco, the seed of future prosperity would either never have been planted or would have failed to come to perfection. Mr. Merrill represented Switzerland county two years in the legislature, then in session at Corydon. In 1825 he became state treasurer and removed to Corydon. The intelligence of his son's election to the office of treasurer prompted the following paragraph in one of his father's letters: "If you don't honor the office, it will not honor you. Remember that he that rises must fall. While you are going up, prepare for retreat, not as the unjust steward did, but by being honest to your trust. He that depends on the flatteries of the world must know that the flatterer will turn against him when it suits his turn." The old Yankee farmer was most concerned that his son should be honest. And the son was honest. It was said of him, thirty years after the date of this letter, that "red hot balls would have been as tolerable to his palms as the smallest coin that he believed another's."

In November, 1824, Mr. Merrill removed to Indianapolis. He held the office of treasurer until in 1834 he was elected president of the State Bank of Indiana. In this office he remained until in 1844 he was made president of the Madison & Indianapolis Railroad Company, which position he held four years. In the period of comparative leisure which followed, he compiled with great industry and research the *Indiana Gazetteer*, a third edition of ten thousand copies of which was published in 1850.

His beloved wife died in 1847. His second wife was Elizabeth D. Young, of Madison, Indiana, previously of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania.

In 1850 he bought out Hood & Noble's book store, and united with it the business of publisher. Not feeling satisfied with the *Gazetteer*, he meditated a thorough revision of the work. But, after a week's illness, in the midst of his activity, he died. He had but a short time before in conversation expressed the wish that if it accorded with the will of Providence he might die before old age sapped his energies.

"Mr. Merrill was a man of superior abilities and attainments. His judgment was sound, his perceptions clear, and his memory retentive. Probably no man could tell so many incidents and anecdotes illustrative of the early history of the state, or could have woven his knowledge into a more interesting or instructive narrative. Though never eminent as a speaker, his clearness and decision made him a valuable councillor and useful officer."

His life was exceedingly laborious. While president of the State Bank, he visited twice a year, never once omitting the duty, every bank in the state, giving careful personal examinations to accounts and ledgers. (He could run over columns of figures with a machine-like rapidity and accuracy.) He usually made his journeys on horseback, often through roads indescribably bad, and though a most humane man to animals, several horses were sacrificed to the terrible roads and the necessity of speed. When he travelled in the stage his good humor, his fund of anecdote, the flow of thought, playful or serious, furnished by his richly stored mind, shortened to his fellow passengers the hours of dreary dragging through swampy woods. Not only his powers of conversation were at the service of strangers. He used to declare that nobody knew how to travel in this country who could not walk and carry a rail; and his rail often served a whole company. Once he walked all night long, nineteen miles, carrying a lantern before the stage, on the horrible old Madison road, reaching home just at daylight.

"Mr. Merrill took up the Madison and Indianapolis Railroad when it was languishing near Vernon, and accomplished more in track laying in two years than had been done in ten years before, bringing the road into Indianapolis, and starting in its career of railroad importance the city that he had named when a legislator in Corydon, and to which he had brought the archives and given its original importance when treasurer of state."

His careful attention to details may be illustrated by his action

during one of those spring floods that sometimes sweep everything before them. He sat all night in a terrible storm, fending the drift from the abutments of a bridge which but for this care would have been swept away.

A sudden rise in Pleasant Run at one time excited his solicitude in regard to the regular Madison train, and unwilling to trust a messenger, he hurried himself to the spot, two miles south of town. The train was approaching. He made vehement gestures for it to stop. The engineer misunderstanding his signals, rushed on and across. Mr. Merrill was prostrated by the agony of mind he endured for about one minute. Good humored, cheerful and patient as he was, with a tenderness that made his eye fill, and his lips quiver at the sight of another's woe, a hand open as the day to melting charity, and ever a deferential respect for man as man in any rank or class of society, he was utterly intolerant of meanness, of hardness, and even of thoughtlessness. His anger was quick, flaming and fierce like lightning. One said of him, and said well, "He maintained in sublime combination the sternest ideas of justice with the most beautiful simplicity and childlike sweetness of manners."

"He was impulsive, and may sometimes have been imprudent," said one of his old friends, "but he was made of heroic stuff and more like our revolutionary fathers than any man I ever met."

For years, during the early history of Indianapolis, a band of rowdies in and about the town, persecuted negroes, threw rotten eggs at Abolitionists, disturbed religious meetings, and waged war generally against peace and order. Mr. Merrill was outspoken in denunciation of these rascals, threatening them with the severities of the law. The ringleader of the gang came into the bank one day prepared for fight. Mr. Merrill laughingly looked up from his desk as the rowdy, with coat off and sleeves rolled up, dared any man to lay hands on him, and said, "Mr. B., you brag too much." "Come out," roared the bully, "and try me." Out stepped the banker in his neat broadcloth and floored the bully three times in succession. The fellow picked himself up without a word, sneaked off, and never again took an active part in public disturbances. Years after, one bitter cold night, Mr. Merrill was roused from sleep by the voice of a drunkard in what was then a lane back of his house. He hurried on his clothes and went some distance

to rescue the man from the cold. Bringing him in, making a fire and preparing a bed for him, he discovered that the helpless creature was his old antagonist. If not the first, Mr. Merrill was one of the first presidents of the Temperance Society of Indianapolis, and of the State Colonization Society. He took an active part in educational movements, taught school several times, was a trustee of Wabash College, superintendent of the First Methodist Sabbath school, and of the Second and Fourth Presbyterian. He was an elder in both the latter churches. His love of books never waned. The delight with which in his youth he read the *Waverly Novels* as they came from the hand of the "Great Magician" was scarcely greater than that with which in his later years he pondered over Neander, Ranke, Macaulay, or Carlyle. If at sixteen his enjoyment in literature was more intense, at sixty it was more profound. As his humanity comprehended men of all classes and character, so his taste in literature, while pure and refined, was universal. With all his ardor and activity, Mr. Merrill was modest even to timidity. Much of the good that he did was never known to others, and was not remembered by himself. But "the memory of the just shall live."

Settlement of Worthington and Old Point Commerce

BY ROBERT WEEMS, Worthington.

EARLY SETTLERS

The region which now embraces Greene county, Indiana, was once the home of the Piankeshaw Indians, a tribe which belonged to the Miami federation. In about the year 1767 the Piankeshaws made a treaty with the Delaware Indians who thereby gained certain privileges, although actual possession was not relinquished by the former tribe.

About the beginning of the nineteenth century the fertile lands of this region began to attract the white man. Prior to that time the only pale faces who had visited this region were explorers and trappers who passed up and down White river in canoes at intervals. Among these first visitors were the Jesuit missionaries, who were always well received among the Indians.

It was about the year 1805 or 1806 that the first white men began to visit this territory with a view of forming settlements. They came from Vincennes which had been established about 100 years and was known as the "Old Post."

The exploring parties from Vincennes had carried home favorable reports of the fertility of the lands lying along White river and our own meandering Eel river. These explorers came in pirogues or canoes, by the river route, that being the only line of travel except the Indian trails through the forests. Consequently the first settlements were formed along the rivers. Much of the adjacent territory being wet and marshy, elevated localities were chosen as sites for settlements.

The bold bluff, later known as Point Commerce, had long attracted the eye of the voyagers and explorers, and as a result one of the first settlements in what is now Greene county was formed on that elevation. It is known that a settlement was formed there as early as 1812. In a few years considerable of a settle-

ment had been established and clearings cut in the forest in that locality.

Among the first settlers were Edmond Jean, Edward Dyer, Samuel Dyer, Richard Wall and Thomas Smith. Later there came George Griffith, John Sanders, Caleb Jessup, James Stalcup, Thomas Stalcup, John Jessup, Jonathan Osborn, Eli Dickson, Thomas Clark, William Winters, Hiram Hicks, John Craig, John Stanley, Benjamin Shoemaker, William Lemons, Joab Wilsher, Henry Littlejohn and others. Some of these pioneers have descendants who are among the leading families of today. They entered land and acquired titles which have passed down to their posterity. Cabins were built, fields were cleared and homes were made in the forests. These settlers were hardy backwoodsmen, long accustomed to the hardships and privations of a life in the forests. In a few years the settlement at Point Commerce had spread over the adjacent territory.

Their cabins grew in number, their clearings broadened into fields and conditions improved each year. Corn was the principal crop, but soon wheat was sown and orchards were planted. Samuel Dyer and Richard Wall raised the first wheat. It was threshed, or beaten out, with flails on quilts in the door yards of the raisers.

Richard Wall, who had brought a quart of apple seed from North Carolina, divided with his neighbors and in time each settler had a small orchard. Cotton was raised, spun and woven. Some raised sheep and wool was carded, spun and woven into cloth. Everybody wore home-spun and hand-made garments in those days.

By the resistless encroachment of the pale faces the Red Men had been pushed back before a settlement was ever formed in this region; consequently the pioneers were in no danger of Indian massacre. The war-whoop, the tomahawk and the scalping knife had lost their terror and the block house was not a necessity in Greene county.

Yet the pioneers remembered the sufferings and the dangers of what they called "early days" in other places. From such dangers the first settlers of this region were exempt. Yet their hardships and privations were great. They were the advance guard which blazed the way for the civilization which we enjoy and to them we owe a debt of gratitude we can never pay. Let us perpetuate their memory.

This is one of our purposes in publishing this brief history.

An absorbing interest, which excels the most thrilling romance, permeates the story of the pioneers who first hewed homes out of the forests.

Volumes have been written about the adventures, dangers and hardships of the forerunners of civilization, who enacted the first chapter in the wonderful drama which transformed a wilderness into a populous land of culture and advancement, yet the most facile pen, the most gifted tongue and the deepest research fail to exhaust the subject or to do full justice to the brave men and women who were the links in the chain of history which transformed the wilderness.

Before the old town of Point Commerce, at the rivers' junction, was started, a settlement had been formed in that locality and was slowly spreading over the adjacent territory. The cabins had steadily increased in number and grown in dimensions, year by year. Log houses were the only homes outside the village, for a full generation.

The people were happy and contented amid their primitive surroundings. The first settlers had each "entered" a large tract of land, and, consequently, the cabins and clearings were widely separated. One's nearest neighbor often lived three miles away. Yet they visited and mingled in a very neighborly way.

Neighbors exchanged visits in cordial hospitality. Often the whole family went and spent a day with a neighbor, perhaps several miles away. "Come, bring your knitting and the children and stay all day," was the common form of invitation for the women; while "our latch-string hangs out" meant that a hospitable welcome awaited the guest.

Ox teams did all heavy hauling and sleds were used instead of wagons. A carriage was seldom seen in those days. To possess a family carriage would have been considered positive evidence of great wealth. The wagons had wooden axles and linchpins.

Social gatherings were not overlooked in early days. The neighbors held corn-huskings, apple-cuttings, and frolics, at which both old and young assembled. While the young folks danced, to the stirring strains of the fiddle, the old folks looked on in admiration and talked their homely matters over, in mutual exchange.

People rode horseback, or walked to church, parties or other

places. To own a horse, saddle and bridle was the ambition of every young man. When a beau desired to accompany his sweetheart home from church, or to escort her to a dance, she rode behind him on horseback. Often jolly crowds of young folks enjoyed a ride on big bob-sleds in winter when the snow was deep.

COUNTY ORGANIZATION

Greene county was organized in 1821. Prior to that time it had been a part of Sullivan county, and the county seat was at Carlisle. Those who had official business to transact had to ride to that town. Previously both had been a part of Knox county, Vincennes being the county seat. All official business was transacted there. Those who had county business to transact went to that town, which had been settled in October, 1702.¹ Carlisle is the next oldest town in the state, it is claimed.

The first county election was held at the home of Thomas Bradford. The following officers were elected: Norman W. Pearce and John L. Buskirk, associate judges; John Seaman, county sheriff; Thomas Warnick, county clerk; Thomas Bradford, collector; John Owen, county treasurer; George Shroyer, county recorder. All were required to swear that they had not engaged in duels, either as principals or as seconds, and had not challenged any man to fight a duel.

The first county seat was at Burlington, that being the exact geographical center of the county. It was on the east bank of White river, directly opposite the pioneer town of Fairplay. A city was laid off in the woods, a public square was located and a courthouse erected at a cost of \$250. The county officials had their offices there and court was held there, from May, 1822, to May, 1823. A well was dug, but no water could be obtained. The old well still is located on the original public square, which is now a part of the farm of Nicholas Flater, of Richland township.

Two roads were surveyed, one running north and south and the other east and west, to the county lines. No town, it appears, was ever established there, although Burlington was laid off for a city. A ferry was operated across White river to Fairplay, where there were a few stores and several homes.

On finding that water was not obtainable at the site selected,

¹ This date is doubtful.—Ed.

a petition was submitted to the legislature praying to have the county seat relocated. The prayer of the petitioners was granted and a commission appointed to choose another site for the county seat. This commission consisted of Amos Rogers, William White, Charles Polk and Abraham Case.

Owing to the fact that Fairplay was so near the center of the county and being a town, and having plenty of good water, all expected that it would be selected as the county seat. Yet the citizens of the village were too confident and offered no inducement. But the citizens of Bloomfield showed more enterprise and offered the necessary inducements. A site was offered free and the county seat was located at Bloomfield, in 1823, and still remains there.

When Greene county was first organized it was subdivided into five townships as follows:

Highland: Which included what are now Jefferson, Smith, Wright and Highland townships; so named on account of the hills along White and Eel rivers.

Richland: Which included what are now Fairplay, Grant, Stockton and Richland townships.

Burlingame: Which included what are now Beech Creek, Center and Jackson townships.

Plummer: Which included what are now Taylor and Cass townships.

Stafford: Which included what are now Washington and Stafford townships.

The first settlement in Greene county was formed at Point Commerce in 1812.

The second settlement in Greene county was formed at Fairplay, on White river, five miles below Point Commerce. It had 150 inhabitants. After a brief existence the old town perished. There was a ford just above the ferry.

Newberry, on White river, was the third town in Greene county. It was settled in 1822, when a store was opened there by John Ritter. Mike Neff erected a grist mill and started a ferry. In canal days Newberry was a place of importance. It is still a prosperous little town.

The fourth settlement formed in Greene county was at Bloomfield. This became the county seat in 1823.

The fifth settlement in this county was at Scotland, on Doan's creek, in 1834. That is now a quiet hamlet.

The sixth settlement in Greene county was made at Linton, then called New Jerusalem. It is now a prosperous and pretentious city.

In 1828 Jefferson and old Eel River townships were formed. They remained separate townships until 1881 when they were merged into one, under the name of the former, Jefferson. Old Eel River township lay between White and Eel rivers and extended northward to the county line. The first settlement was in that locality, which is still often designated by its original name.

Upon the formation of Eel River township an election was held at the home of Mr. Dayhuff and the following officers were elected: Election inspector, Henry Littlejohn; fence viewers, Alexander Watson and Jonathan Brashears; overseers of the poor, John Sanders and Caleb Jessup.

The second election in old Eel River township was held at the home of Mr. Sanders, when the officers chosen were as follows: Election inspector, Ephriam Owen; road superintendents, Richard Wall and G. W. Haton; overseers of the poor, Caleb Jessup and John Archer; fence viewers, Herbert Sanders and Henry Smith.

The first elections were held in private homes, later in mills, and afterwards in the school houses.

The hotel and tavern rates were fixed by law as follows:

Dinner, 25 cents; breakfast, 20 cents; supper, 20 cents; corn and hay for horse, 25 cents; whiskey, $\frac{1}{2}$ pint, $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents; cider, quart, $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents; rum, $\frac{1}{2}$ pint, $37\frac{1}{2}$ cents; brandy, $\frac{1}{2}$ pint, 50 cents, board and lodging, week \$2.00, horsekeeping, week, \$1.25.

The market prices for country produce and live stock were very low in those days.

Corn was 10 cents per bushel; wheat, 35 cents; cows, \$7.50 per head; chickens, 6 cents each; turkeys, 25 cents each. The subscription for a weekly newspaper was \$2.50 per year.

Officers of the law were permitted to arrest fugitive slaves and recover pay for their keeping, until returned to their owners. John Seaman, one of the first sheriffs of Greene county, was allowed \$14 for arresting and keeping one runaway slave, two weeks. William Lemons, constable, was allowed \$8.00 for arresting and keeping a fugitive slave for a few days.

The usual fee of a minister or a squire for performing a marriage ceremony in early days was 25 cents. Sometimes, the groom desiring to be especially liberal, the preacher was paid 50 cents.

POINT COMMERCE

The Divine Architect of the Universe built a town site at the junction of White and Eel rivers. Owing to its advantageous situation it was named Point Commerce. It grew steadily and became the best town on White river. Stores were started, ferries established, shops were opened, saw-mills were located, boats were built and the pioneer village continued to thrive.

The first merchant was J. M. H. Allison, who settled there and opened a general store in 1835. Shortly afterward he was joined by his brother, J. F. Allison, who surveyed and named the village. In addition to a large general store the firm engaged extensively in the pork-packing business and in the purchase of the products of the farms, which they shipped to New Orleans. Sometimes the Allison Brothers shipped twenty-five or thirty flatboat loads of pork, furs, lumber and grain to the southern market in one season.

They built a big pork-house on Eel river, near where it empties into White river. The farmers slaughtered their hogs and sold them, dressed, to the pork-packers. They also established a double ferry, where the rivers met.

Allison & Allison built a large hotel which was called the Junction House. It became a famous hotel among river men. There was an old saying: "The Junction House is good enough for Philadelphia." The old hotel was brought to Worthington in later years and now forms a part of the Commercial House.

J. M. H. Allison also erected a fine two-story brick house, which still stands and is now owned and occupied by Jasper Hutchinson. Mr. Allison was an adventurous speculator. It is said he sank a large fortune at Point Commerce.

In time more merchants came and other lines of business were established so that Point Commerce gave promise of becoming a great city. There were blacksmiths, wagon makers, tailors, tinners, a turning lathe, a cabinet maker, a tannery, a saloon (then called a "grocery"), a saw-mill, a grist-mill and finally a distillery and a powder mill.

Goods for the stores were bought in New York, shipped to

Pittsburg, floated down to Louisville on flatboats and then hauled in wagons to Point Commerce.

Ferries were established. One ferry across White river was operated by Thomas Smith, about where the wagon bridge now spans that stream. Another ferry was started north of Point Commerce by Jonathan Osborn. Later, the village having become a thriving business center, a double ferry was started at the junction of the rivers. Another ferry was started across Eel river, where the wagon bridge now spans that stream.

Some years later a wagon bridge was built over Eel river, just above where the I. & V. railroad bridge is now located. The large rocks on the south bank of that stream formed a natural abutment for that end of the old wooden bridge. A wagon road ran along the ridge, now known as Hays' Heights, and descended to the bridge where the orchard of Herman Kautz is located.

In time a large brick Methodist church was built. Later it was razed and the brick used to build the residence now owned and occupied by Marcus Hays.

A two-story frame building was erected, the lower story being used as school room and the upper story as a Masonic Hall. Later this building was transferred to Worthington and used as a carpenter shop by Squire Riggs. It still stands, near the Water & Light Plant.

A grist-mill and saw-mill combined stood on the east bank of Eel river at the old "Indian ford." Later, a carding mill and subsequently a weaving department were added. Lumber was sawed, cloth was woven, flour, meal and feed were ground and shipped down the river to the southern market. That important industry was owned and operated, in later years, by Samuel Miller, father of F. N. Miller. There were two saw-mills on Eel river between the first wagon bridge and White river.

Later, another pork house was built on the east bank of Eel river, just above where the wagon bridge now spans the stream. It was established by E. H. Sabin, who was a preacher as well as a pork-packer.

W. C. Andrews, father of W. C. Andrews, the hardware merchant, came in 1839 and opened a general store. Later, the firm became Andrews & Topping. In addition to conducting a large general store they did an extensive shipping business.

Among the pioneer business men and firms of Old Point Commerce were the following:

J. M. H. and J. F. Allison, W. C. Andrews, John Barekman, Andrews & Toppings, McIntyre & Jaquis, Joseph Miller, general merchants; William Bradshaw, cabinet maker; Wilson Helms, carpenter; T. Messick and J. Stanley, tailors; J. Barekeman, squire; John Beach and James Abbott, shoemakers; Sam and Alf Willy, blacksmiths; William Wooden, wagon maker; Bob Leach, wood workman; Fount Gooley, harness and saddle-maker; Isreal Carroll, coffins and undertaking; Jesse Brazier, brewer and baker; Jesse Brazier, saloon; Sam Miller, saw-mill; Aaron Craig, woolen mill; John Sanders, distillery; Jonathan Osborn, powder mill; William Bays, squire.

Mr. W. G. Sanders, of Point Commerce, whose grandparents were among the first settlers, recalled the names of merchants and other pioneers, besides many interesting events in the old flat-boat days, when Point Commerce was in her prime. Mr. Sanders remembers when his father had a distillery and made corn whisky, apple brandy and peach brandy.

Often he would haul a barrel of whisky to other points, in an ox-cart, and sell it at 12½ cents per gallon.

Mr. Sanders remembers Rev. Eli Farmer, pioneer circuit rider, who preached at Point Commerce. He was a great exhorter.

The first school house, which Mr. Sanders recalls was a small brick structure, which stood near where the residence of B. F. Hays is situated.

"In those days," said Mr. Sanders, "the people made the jeans and woolseys for their clothes which were all home-made. When I was a boy, drunkenness was much more common than it is now. The elections were then held in August. Several rough and tumble fist fights always occurred on every election day, as well as at all horse races or other public gatherings."

Before the first cabins were built by white men at Point Commerce, the last tepees of the red men had disappeared. But occasionally a roving band of Indians visited the place. They were peaceful and some of them could speak "broken" English. If on foot or on horseback, they traveled single file, and crossed Eel river at the old Indian ford. But more often they floated leisurely down the streams in canoes, stopping here and there to hunt and to barter with the whites.

In September, 1819, a band of redskins visited this region. They numbered 300, and belonged to a single tribe, probably the Piankeshaws. They were on horseback and passed along the old Indian trail and crossed Eel river at the old Indian ford, a fourth mile north of where the wagon bridge now spans this stream.

A few days later another band of Indians, numbering 200, floated down White river in bark canoes and camped at the mouth of Eel river. That was on Sunday, September 30, 1819.

The date of this last visit of the Indians is fixed by the fact that a wedding of a pioneer white couple occurred on that day. It was probably the first wedding solemnized in the old Point Commerce settlement. John Fires and Miss Martha Craig were married at noon that day by Alexander Craig, who had a grist-mill at the junction of White and Eel rivers. The entire settlement had assembled to celebrate the first wedding.

Directly after the ceremony the wedding party was greatly surprised and terribly startled by the arrival of the big band of savages. Some feared a massacre. But the Indians were friendly.

The bride and groom and others of the wedding party walked down to the river to see the Indians. The chief was a young brave who only a few days previously had been married himself to a pretty Indian maiden of his own tribe. But on seeing the blushing young paleface bride, the chief was so pleased with her appearance that he offered to swap wives. The bride was very indignant at the Indian's presumption. She was but fifteen years old and quite comely. The audacity of the savage was further shown by the fact that he demanded a blanket and a bear skin to boot.

The next marriages which occurred in the Point Commerce settlement were the following:

Isaac Jackson and Elizabeth Griffith, by Rev. Hugh Barnes, August 9, 1821; David Smith and Mary Byson, by Squire Edmond Jean, October 25, 1821; Philip Silver and Sarah Lindley, by Squire John B. Kelshaw, January 10, 1822; John Fires and Patsy Craig, by Squire Edmond Jean, May 19, 1822; Eli Duncan and Rebecca Stevenson, by Squire William Clark, July, 1822; Peyton Owen and Rachel Griffith, Richard Wall and Mary Dyer, Herbert Sanders and Jessie Jessup, Samuel Dyer and Celia Arney, Aquilla Walker and Elizabeth Dyer, William Foley and Jane Osborn, Ira Danley and Olive Jessup, Joseph Smith and Sallie Jessup, William Huey

and Sally Stanley, John Stanley and Mary Ball, Abram Shoemaker and Maria Morris, Obediah Winters and Hanna Duncan, Thomas Huey and Vasta Steward, Joshua Duncan and Maria Shoemaker, William Smith and Mary McKee.

Before any churches, or "meeting houses" were built, services were held in the cabins, by the circuit riders who rode from place to place on horseback. The services were always well attended and the pioneers were, as a class, religious. The singing was congregational and the hymns were lined-off by the preacher and then sung by the people, often with more force than melody. These services gave the settlers an opportunity to meet and greet each other, which they did in cordial manner. Good old fashioned "handshakes" always followed the meetings in which the exhorters often stirred their hearers into shouting. The religion of that day was more demonstrative than that of the present.

Spelling schools were another meeting place for the people, and proved both beneficial and enjoyable.

The first saw-mills were very primitive, slow and laborious. The log had to be elevated. Then two men, with what is usually called a whip saw, cut it into boards. One sawyer stood on the log and the other under it. The lower position was disagreeable, on account of the sawdust falling into the sawyer's eyes, when he looked up to see his work, which was, of course, necessary.

For a time the nearest grist-mill was at Vincennes, and the settlers had to go there to have their corn and wheat ground. But later horse-mills and water-mills were built.

Land was cheap in those days and could be bought for from fifty cents to \$2.50 per acre. What was known as "congress" land was valued at \$1.25 per acre. The swamp lands could not then have been given away. By drainage it has become the most valuable now.

Wages were low. Farm hands were paid \$5.00 and \$6.00 per month. They worked hard and long.

The first settlement, for many years, was the best and always remained a model of thrift and enterprise. And when a town was later established there, it led all others in its progress and its advancement, in commercial activity, in education, in religion and in cleanliness. The place was often called "White Town," a name in which the inhabitants were justly complimented. The houses

and other buildings and fences were kept neatly dressed in white-wash. To the voyagers, ascending or descending the rivers, to the "movers," ever passing, the little town of gleaming white on the hill, surrounded by the forest of green, was like a beckoning invitation to a haven of rest and comfort.

In this the village patterned after the town of Vincennes, where the mud houses of the pioneer French settlers were kept in spotless white, at all seasons, by a plentiful use of white-wash, made from lime, formed by burning mussel shells. The French women were models of cleanliness, neatness and industry, although so much can hardly be claimed for their husbands, many of whom were prone to idleness and inebriacy, caring more for fiddles and whisky than they did for wealth and education.

But this was not true of the men in the "White Town" community. They worked and developed the country; established ferries and bridges, mills and stores, schools and churches, more rapidly than their French "neighbors" had done at the "Old Post," on the Wabash.

The first grist-mills established in the Old Point Commerce settlement were operated by hand and were very primitive. Their product was a coarse "unbolted" meal. Then horse-power mills were started. Subsequently water mills were built. To secure power, dams were built across the streams.

It is claimed that Alexander Craig built and operated the first mill at Point Commerce. Then Thomas Clark started a "tub"-mill on Clark's creek.

Later the Junction water mill was established by Daniel and Peter Ingersoll, at the Rock Ford, on Eel river. It became an important enterprise. People came there with their grists, for many miles around—often remaining two or three days, waiting their turns, fishing meanwhile in the mill-race.

Above its junction with Eel river, the "White River Mills" were established and a dam built, on the latter stream, and operated by Green Tally, Amos Owen and Ira Danley, successively, on the Haxton farm. A part of the old dam remains.

Game was so plentiful that the pioneers procured their meat with their rifles. Bears and deer were so often killed that their skins became a staple product of the land. Fur-bearing animals were so numerous that trapping was a profitable enterprise in the winter

season. There being little money, skins and furs became a commodity of such regular barter that they were almost a "legal tender."

Owing to the ever-shifting habits of men who, even in that day, were moving westward, the travel overland was wonderful. And, as all merchandise was hauled overland, an almost constant stream of wagons were coming and going, when the roads were passable. Four and six-horse teams were the rule. The ferries as a result were busy all the day. Besides, the taverns along the "big roads" or principal thoroughfares were located at intervals and did a profitable business. Owing to the frequent attempts at extortions, the rates were finally fixed by law.

Near Point Commerce is located the famous "Devil's Tea Table," an interesting geological formation, which has been called the "Plymouth Rock of Point Commerce." It is nearly one hundred feet high, and by its elevation and its location near White river, it forms a natural "lookout" and was so used by the Indians and by the pioneer whites. It is covered with the names of its visitors, carved upon its surface. Some were carved there nearly a century ago.

It is believed that this ancient landmark was used by the Mound Builders as a sacrificial altar.

Just below it, nearer the river, is the "Devil's Chair," a stone formation resembling an immense seat with a back, which has also attracted the attention of the sightseers.

In those earlier days there was no mail service. Mail routes were not established until about seventy-five years ago. There was a route from Point Commerce to Washington, which brought and received mail weekly. The postage on a letter was twenty-five cents, and was usually paid by the receiver. This was called "lifting" a letter. No envelopes were used. The letters were folded and sealed with wax.

From the first the settlers in Old Eel River township showed an interest in the cause of education and maintained the best schools of the county.

The first school in what was Old Eel River township was organized in 1821. It was taught by George Baber in a little log house which stood near the home of Caleb Jessup.

The pioneer teachers, in the order named, were: Henry Sargent, Ephraim Owen, Luke Philbert, William Bray, Joseph Saddle

and Amos Roark. Each taught a subscription school for a short term in winter.

Later a school house was built. It stood near the home of Mr. Jessup. Then another school house was erected near the home of Mr. Sanders. In these, successful schools were taught.

Mr. Fletcher Griffith recalls the names of the following teachers in that community: Rev. Simpson, Carlos Kelsey, Fred Spooner, William Leach, Robert Taylor, Sam Kelshaw, John Curry, William Glover and John Buck.

In 1830 there were five school houses in Jefferson and Eel River townships. The schools grew in number and the course of study was improved year by year.

Finally the famous Point Commerce Academy was founded in 1869 by Prof. E. E. Henry and Rev. John Laverty, both of whom were able educators. Students came from the surrounding country and from distant towns. The higher branches were taught. Its course of study was similar to the modern high school.

For a few years Point Commerce Academy flourished. Then Prof. Henry accepted a position elsewhere and the school finally closed. Mr. Laverty later was a clerk in Dr. Squire's drug store in Worthington. The history of Point Commerce would be incomplete without a sketch of James M. H. Allison. He and his brother, John F. Allison, came from Spencer to Point Commerce in the fall of 1836, and opened a store. They bought land and laid off a town and named it Point Commerce.

In the following summer J. M. H. Allison erected the famous old Junction House, which stood on the corner on the east side of the street about where the little frame school house is now situated. His brother-in-law, Dr. David Shepherd, was the first landlord of the hotel. It was of frame, two stories and was a substantial building. The lumber was sawed by Mr. Allison at Spencer and floated down White river. The old hotel was brought to Worthington in 1880, by Tip Osborn, who started a hotel here.

A year later, in 1838, Mr. Allison brought his family to Point Commerce. They first occupied a frame cottage, which stood just east of the hotel, then moved into another home. Later, they lived in the hotel, until 1844, when Mr. Allison erected the two-story brick residence overlooking the beautiful prospect where the two rivers meet. The house still stands and is occupied by Jasper Hutchinson.

Jas. M. H. Allison was of British ancestry. He was born at Elizabethtown, Maryland, September 11, 1802. He was a large, portly man, weighing over 200 pounds, an ardent Whig, a faithful Methodist and a man of wonderful enterprise and generosity.

Mr. Allison was married twice. His first wife was Julia Ann Payne, who died childless, eighteen months after their marriage. In 1828, Mr. Allison married Julia Ann Applegate, daughter of a wealthy tobacco dealer of Louisville, Kentucky. To them were born thirteen children, two of whom survive, viz.: Squire Geo. F. Allison of this town and Dr. David E. Allison, dentist, of St. Paul, Minnesota. Mr. Allison died at Indianapolis, in 1877.

The firm of Allison & Allison did an extensive business as general merchants, pork-packers and dealers in produce, which they shipped down the river to New Orleans. Frequently they would have \$40,000 worth of pork and produce in their warehouse and pork house, waiting for the river to reach boating stage. In addition of this the Allison's owned several hundred acres of land. Their possessions included that part of what is now Worthington north of Union street, and extending northward to Johnstown; also west of what is now Worthington.

James M. H. Allison, the principal owner of the business and real estate, possessed large means and had great wealth at his command; but his generosity helped bring on a financial crash, which occurred in 1852.

His son, 'Squire George F. Allison, to whom we are indebted for much of the data in this chapter, says:

"My father was the principal contributor in building the first school house and the first Methodist church at Point Commerce. Without his aid neither would have been built. When any money was needed for church purposes, school expenses, or for some public enterprise, J. M. H. Allison always headed the list of subscribers and made up the balance, after the subscriptions of other citizens had been received. Usually the largest portion of the whole amount was left for father to pay. He paid the preachers and the teachers, the most of what they received. Many times my father paid the taxes for his neighbors and then waited until they brought him their produce. Some of them never paid him. He was too generous for his own good. He donated to everything and assisted his friends in the hour of need. Then, when he lay sick and all thought he was on his death-bed, in the summer of 1852, some men whom he had befriended sent out false and misleading reports about him, which damaged his credit and brought on his financial ruin."

"I remember when my father chartered the steamboat 'J. B. Porter' at New Orleans, and loaded it with goods for his store at Point Commerce.

"In the spring of 1841 father loaded twenty-one flatboats with pork and other produce and shipped them to New Orleans. Two of the boats sank and their cargoes were lost, before reaching their destination."

'Squire Allison recalls the names of the old flatboat pilots: Anderson Harvey, James Harvey, Ky Gooden, Tom Archer, Joseph Osborn and William Kesterson.

Much of the hauling was then done in wagons, from Vincennes and from Louisville to Point Commerce. Mr. Allison recalls the names of the old wagoners, who used to drive four and six horse teams: Robert Fulton, Howard Crantz, James Buckner, Adam Stroops, Jonathan Peyton, Jerry Buckner, Samuel Chaney, George Rhinehard and Joseph Huey. He also remembers the names of some of the men who used to clerk in his father's store: Robert Howe, John Barekman, John Farmer, 'Squire Andrews and his uncle, John F. Allison.

The names of the preachers, which 'Squire Allison recalls, are as follows: Revs. Eli P. Farmer, John Williams, Abediah Winters, James Lathrop, William Mayson, W. F. Harned, —— Ravensoff, —— Sabin and John Hancock.

He remembers, likewise, when the street which passed in front of the hotel and his father's store, ran down to the wharf at the rivers' junction. Hundreds of heavily loaded wagons, drawn by four and six horse teams, were pulled up that steep incline every season. When he was a boy Point Commerce was a good business town. It was a busy place and there was bustle and action everywhere. Pork houses, grist-mills, cotton gins, carding mills, saw-mills, tannery, distillery, ferries, shops, stores, "coffee house," and all other pioneer enterprises were active. All expected that Point Commerce would one day become a great city. Its founder, J. M. H. Allison, had proudly spoken of it as the "Pittsburg of the West."

'Squire Allison remembers the times when other crowds assembled besides those who met for worship. He remembers when the voters came from the surrounding country to vote on election days and on Muster day. The spring, or local elections, were held in April, and the county elections in August.

The use of liquor was more general in early days than it is now. The records show that when public officials met to transact business

that whisky bills were put into their expense accounts and allowed as necessities.

But whisky, then as now, was a great curse and finally the better class of people began to oppose its use and to stop drunkenness, which was alarmingly common. Every public gathering was annoyed by whisky-crazed men and often the meeting was broken up and ended in a drunken riot.

Finally a lodge of Washingtonians, a strong pioneer temperance society, was organized at Old Point Commerce. The members used to sing:

"The shouts of Washingtonians
Are heard on every gale,
They're chanting now their victory
O'er whiskey, beer and ale."

Yet another member of that family, who was a man of influence at Point Commerce and surrounding territory, was John F. Allison, a younger brother of J. M. H. Allison.

John F. Allison was born in Bourbon county, Kentucky, July 10, 1814. His father was a man of wealth and the owner of many slaves, which he had inherited, but he did not believe that one man had a right to own another. Consequently he liberated his slaves; yet as Mr. Allison had been a humane master, some of his negroes declined their proffered freedom and remained in the service of their former owner.

John F. Allison was the youngest of three brothers. Both of the older brothers were engaged in the mercantile business, Noah at Spencer and James, with whom the subject of this sketch was associated, at Point Commerce, where they had opened the first store on the 17th day of November, 1835.

Being a man of education and an experienced civil engineer, John F. Allison surveyed and laid off the town of Point Commerce and took an active part in its affairs. No other man had a wider acquaintance throughout this region than the younger member of the firm of Allison & Allison, of Point Commerce. He had the especial charge of the outdoor branch of their business, made frequent trips to New Orleans and occasionally journeyed to Louisville and to Pittsburg, besides covering, on horseback, by stage and by boat, the surrounding territory, which broadened his acquaintance until he was the best-known and most popular man in this region during his day.

Hon. John F. Allison was an ardent Whig. He served three terms in the State Legislature, two as Representative and one as Senator. He was first elected to the House of Representatives from Greene county, in 1839. Two years later he was offered the nomination to a seat in the State Senate, but declined and was soon afterward renominated and elected to a second term as Representative.

In 1844, Mr. Allison was elected Senator from the district composed of Greene and Owen counties.

John F. Allison was an orator and recognized as the best political speaker in this section of the State. In 1840 he stumped the State for William Henry Harrison and participated in the great political debates of his day, and was the relentless foe of slavery. His oratorical ability and his strenuous activity made Mr. Allison a leader in both House and Senate. He fought, with characteristic vigor, for the repeal of the law which allowed the imprisonment of men for debt. While in the State Senate he was one of the leading advocates of the great compromise measure, known as the Butler Bill, which became a law and saved the State from bankruptcy.

But John F. Allison did not confine himself to political and commercial affairs alone. He was a leader in every public enterprise and made tremendous sacrifices of time and money, for the good of the community, and for internal improvements. He advocated the first railroad project, the great "Air Line," to which he gave twelve hundred acres of land, then valued at \$8,000. It would now be worth \$80,000.

Mr. Allison was also active in the first effort to build a railroad from Indianapolis to Vincennes. He served one year, without pay, as secretary of the board of directors, besides making a cash donation of \$1,000. Later he assisted in promoting the I. & V. railroad, which was built in 1869 and donated \$1,000 to the enterprise.

Johnstown, which was a place of considerable business in the old canal days, was named after John F. Allison. He opened the first store there. Mr. Allison died in 1885, at Indianapolis.

'Squire George F. Allison recalls the names of the teachers who taught at Point Commerce, in the little old brick school house, which stood north of the big brick church. They were: James Freeman, Miss Rowel, Thomas Rowark, Henry Grim, Mary Taylor, Ann Ritter, Hiram Hanshot and William Leach.

Before the church was erected religious services were held in the school house. Previous to the building of the school house they used to hold services in the hotel, the famous old Junction House, owned by Allison & Allison. The dining room was used for the meetings and when the crowd was large, the door leading to the barroom was opened. Rev. Farmer, an uncle of J. M. H. Allison, often preached there.

The old brick church at Point Commerce was called Wesley Chapel. It was erected in 1849. It was 40x80 feet in size and was two stories high. It stood almost directly opposite the one-story brick residence which still stands and is occupied by Clarence Cressy. This cottage was built by Dr. Shepherd, a brother-in-law of J. M. H. Allison, as a residence. It was occupied later by 'Squire William S. Bays, who had married the doctor's widow after his death.

The brick for the old church at Point Commerce were burned across the road from where the residence of B. F. Hays now stands.

George F. Allison remembers when the first church society was organized at Point Commerce, in the little old brick school house, with the following members: George Helm, Jesse Brazier, James Denton, John Yarnell, Robert Stricklin, George Griffith, Thomas Messick and Cavin Spooner. Mr. Helm and Mr. Griffith were class-leaders.

The first quarterly meeting at Point Commerce was in 1840. It was conducted by Rev. McGinnis, Presiding Elder. A big revival followed.

Camp meetings had been held in the old Point Commerce community even before the town was started, and were always well attended.

The first preacher was Rev. Hugh Barnes, an old Revolutionary soldier. Other old pioneer preachers of that settlement were Rev. James Armstrong, Rev. Obediah Winters and Rev. Eli P. Farmer.

Old Wesley Chapel, at Point Commerce, was a stately and substantial edifice and was the best known church in Greene county for many years. Some great revivals were held there and the leading ministers of those early days, who visited this region, preached in the old church. The people for miles around met and worshipped there for a half century.

The old church outlasted the pioneer town which it had blessed

by its divine and powerful influence, by many years. Long after Worthington had grown up into a good town and Point Commerce had fallen into decay, the ancient church on the hill was still the meeting place for the Methodists of this locality. Commercially Point Commerce came to Worthington, but spiritually the conditions were reversed.

Finally a Methodist church was built in Worthington, and gradually the old pioneer church at Point Commerce was abandoned. Its parishioners had died or moved away; the ministers who had preached there in years ago had been called away, some to other fields of labor and others to their eternal rest. And, with all its hallowed memories, the dear old "meeting house" on the hill top stood silent and deserted until the ancient edifice was razed in 1882, by Marcus Hays, Sr. (father of Ben F., Sam F. and Marcus Hays), who bought the building, tore it down and built a residence with the brick. This house, a substantial two-story building, was erected in 1883, and is now the residence of Marcus Hays, son of the builder.

In the front gable of the old church, over the door, was a heavy slab of stone, in which was chiseled these words: "Wesley Chapel M. E. Church, 1849." This fixes the date of its erection. The old stone now forms a top for Mark Hays' cistern.

The pulpit and pews in old Wesley Chapel were of the finest black walnut. They are now doing service in Mount Vernon Methodist church, three miles northwest of old Point Commerce, and are still in splendid condition.

Mrs. Josephine Andrews, mother of William C. Andrews, the well known hardware dealer, who went to school at Point Commerce and was well acquainted there, remembers many interesting events and personages of that place. She recalls the name of the first Methodist minister who preached at old Wesley Chapel. He was Reverend Gunsaulus.

SCOURGED BY CHOLERA

In 1851 the entire country was scourged with an epidemic of cholera, and the four doctors fell victims of the disease within three days of each other, leaving Point Commerce without a physician. This is the way some old residents remember the event. Others say that only two of the doctors died; another says three of the doctors

died of cholera. However, one-fourth of the people died and others fled from the dreaded pestilence.

Not only did the ancient village on the hill at the rivers' junction suffer, but other towns and cities, all over the land were visited by the awful scourge. In many a city there were scarcely enough well people to bury the dead. The scourge became so fatal and so prevalent that in some large cities, the dead bodies of its victims were carted to their graves and buried without coffins. Burying squads went from house to house, with wagons. Pausing at the door of the house of mourning the men shouted: "Bring on your dead!" and corpse after corpse was loaded into waiting wagons, to be hauled away to the "silent city of the dead" and interred without the usual funeral formalities.

The feeble words of men fail to express the fullness of sorrow when every heart is burdened with grief and every home is a house of mourning.

In its nation-wide devastation the scourge stalked with sorrow-leaving strides, from sea to sea in a season, and no protecting angel had "passed over" in advance, for nowhere had the saving spray of hyssop struck the lintel of any door in the land; nor was the monster satisfied with the first-born, but demanded a deadlier toll, and, pitied not its prey. Neither tears, nor prayers, nor doctors, could stay its ravages.

A BARREL OF MONEY

One of the leading citizens of Point Commerce was William C. Andrews, who conducted a dry goods store there and was postmaster for many years. The postoffice was kept in his store. In those days the postage on a letter was two-bits. Often Postmaster Andrews was asked by the receiver for a loan of twenty-five cents, in order that the interesting missive might be taken home to the family. Some of these loans were never paid; yet, to the good name of those sturdy pioneers, let it be said that Mr. Andrews lost but a few times through accommodating his neighbors in this way.

Mr. Andrews was also associated with C. J. Barekman in the pork and grain business. They bought such produce from the farmers, built flatboats and shipped it to New Orleans. Mr. Andrews made frequent trips to that city, then the commercial emporium for this and all the intervening territory.

In those days flatboating was an important industry. Boats

were built at Point Commerce, loaded and sent to New Orleans. Often twenty-five flatboat loads of pork, grain and other products were shipped to the great southern metropolis in a single season.

Mrs. Josephine Andrews tells us of an interesting event. Mr. Andrews went to New Orleans with an unusually heavy cargo of pork and grain, which he sold and received his pay, several thousand dollars in silver and gold. He put his money into a barrel and, accompanied by a trusted assistant, shipped it by boat to Louisville, Kentucky, with as little display as possible, not caring to make known the contents of the barrel. But one of them always stood guard, and both slept by the precious collection of coin. On reaching Louisville, the barrel of money was rolled into a wagon and hauled overland to Point Commerce.

In later years Messrs. Andrews and Barekman located at Worthington, which fact will be given in a subsequent chapter.

Though Allison & Allison, merchants, pork-packers and shippers, hotelkeepers and speculators, were the pioneers, other large stores and rival merchants were soon located and all did a good business.

Hogs and cattle were raised in great number then. They ran at large and it cost little to feed them or to care for them. The cattle fattened on the range and hogs upon the mast. Just before slaughtering them they were taken up and fed a few weeks to make them "corn fed" by which their market value was enhanced.

Mr. W. G. Sanders' father, who had done a large business in raising hogs, packed his own pork in later years and shipped it to market.

Subsequently the hogs were driven to market on foot in big droves. Mr. W. G. Sanders remembers when he went with his father who drove 600 to 700 fat hogs to Terre Haute. They were eight days on the way. The drovers were accompanied by teams, ready to haul any fat swine which gave out on the way. When a wagon got a load it went on ahead to Terre Haute, left its hogs and then returned to meet the drove.

Cattle were driven to Cincinnati or other markets in those early days.

Drovers were usually men of considerable means and on returning from the cities (where their cattle had been sold), with their money in saddle bags, they were often waylaid and robbed by high-

waymen, on the lonely roads in the forests. Sometimes they put up for the night at some wayside inn whose landlord was the head of a band of robbers and murderers. The returning drover who fell into such hands never reached home and was never heard from again. No Point Commerce drover ever met such a fate.

However, in those days, before there were any daily or even weekly market reports, many an unfortunate drover lost heavily and was driven into bankruptcy by an unfortunate deal in swine, or through the dishonesty of some swindling speculator in the large cities. Occasionally a local speculator lost heavily upon hogs which he bought here and drove to some large city.

Jack Newsom, who owned the land known as the "Peters' Farm," now the property of Z. P. East, was among the pioneer speculators who lost all he possessed through the dishonesty of Louisville packers to whom he sold hogs. Mr. Newsom had raised some of the hogs, but the rest he bought from his neighbors. He paid them but received nothing from the dishonest men to whom he sold. They told him that the "market was down" and that they had suffered heavy losses. If they bought from others on the same terms they did from Jack Newsom it is difficult to see how they suffered any loss. It cost Jack Newsom 1,300 acres of good land, now worth \$125 per acre.

The drovers forded the rivers and creeks enroute. The older residents of Point Commerce remember when big droves of cattle forded, or swam, White river on their long and tiresome journey to Cincinnati, Ohio, or to Louisville, Kentucky.

Everything was cheap in those days. David S. Fulk remembers when his father, Charles Fulk, raised corn, shelled it by hand and sold it for 16 cents, delivered. Pork sold for 2½ cents net. Mr. Fulk's father sold a cow for \$8 and a good heifer for \$3. With the money he bought a steel plow and a pair of leather check lines. Land was worth \$1.25 per acre. A man who wanted to "enter" land rode to Vincennes, paid \$1.25 per acre and got a deed.

John Stanley, a pioneer citizen of the Point Commerce community, used to raise corn and hogs and ship his products to New Orleans by flatboat. He built his own boat, loaded it with his own corn and pork and acted as his own pilot and business manager.

He cooked and lived on the boat as he floated down stream to the great southern mart. On reaching New Orleans he would sell

the cargo, retaining his cooking utensils, ropes, block and tackle, which he brought back for the next trip.

Once he sold a load of produce for \$1,500 and received his money in silver. This he put into a barrel, piled the ropes, pans and skillets in on top of it and shipped it by boat to Louisville. There the barrel, with its valuable contents, was stored in a ware-room and left. There the barrel stood, with no one to guard it; no one knew what the barrel contained.

Mr. Stanley walked to Point Commerce, took his four-horse team and drove to Louisville, loaded his barrel into the wagon with a quantity of merchandise he had bought and returned. On reaching home Mr. Stanley unloaded his barrel, dumped its contents upon the barn floor, and lo! his bags of money were there, safe and untouched. He hid his money in some "gums" of seed wheat, where it lay for several months, until Mr. Stanley invested it in land. There were no banks near and as no one but the owner knew that the money was there it was safe.

Communication

AN ECHO FROM THE ERA OF THE TASSEMENTS.

A contribution to the December number of the Indiana Magazine of History, entitled "The Meaning of Tassinong," invites the undersigned to present his authority for applying the old French word *tassement* to the simple log structures of old French trading posts, or palisaded shops, where furs were obtained from the Indians in exchange for various articles of trade. I take pleasure in responding to the invitation contained in that article, especially since I have been indebted to its author, in past years, for kindly and valuable aid on more than one difficult point in Indiana's ancient history. I waive the fact that the invitation is presented in a manner to which I am little accustomed, and I attribute the author's playfulness in part to the freedom of an old-time acquaintance.

For critical purposes relating to French historical and literary matters of old time, I find the work of Celestin Hippeau (1803-1883) indispensable; for it seeks to do what has not been done by any other lexicographer of the language, so far as I know. It seeks to give the status, in centuries gone, of old French words, and to condense in two volumes of convenient size the substance of great works which are rare, expensive, and inconvenient; to give what the student would otherwise have to search for in the Dictionaries of Roquefort, De Burguy, and Du Cagne, and in various partial lexicons.

The first volume of Hippeau's work was issued in 1866; the second, in 1873. The work was published in Paris by Auguste Aubry, of 18 Rue Seguiet, who issued also seventeen other volumes of historical, literary and educational criticism (all remarkable) by Hippeau, together with seven valuable literary compends by him.

In the second volume of Hippeau's *Dictionnaire* on page 132, is found the word *tassement*, it being in the class of words which had come into use before the close of the thirteenth century. It is, therefore, at least, over six hundred years old, and it is still in use,

with no change in the spelling or in the pronunciation, and still relates in a way to buildings (with a technical meaning known especially to architects), though the old palisades have passed away.

To this word our historical lexicographer gives but a single meaning. He defines it *palissade*.

Hippeau connects the word with *tas*, *tasse*, or *tassel*, meaning, as he says, *rassemblement*, *assemblage de plusieurs objets*; also (a peculiar usage, I think) *touffe d'arbres*. Tassement has been associated by others with *tas*, *tasque*, and *tasche*, meaning a pocket or a sack or purse carried at the belt. The pocket or swung purse of the workman or housewife, in centuries gone, contained many articles not now carried around in clothing. Hence *tassement*, it would seem, came to convey the idea of an assortment of serviceable things, such as were to be found in a trader's establishment. But the idea of a palisade was the first and dominant one expressed by the word, and our lexicographer gives no other meaning than this.

When the Count de St. Chamas (a native of Paris, long resident at the court of Cairo, with whom I sustained an intimate acquaintance for a decade in Chicago) was about to start, seven years ago, upon his journey around the world, he came to me and gave me, as a parting present (the last of many generous gifts), the great *Grammaire des Grammaires* and the two volumes of Hippeau's *Dictionnaire*. Of the latter he said, "I give these to you, *mon ami*, because I know that you will appreciate them and *use* them." He had often seen me ransacking *Larousse* and *La Grande Encyclopedie*.

Where were the *tassements* of the French in the third century back? The greatest line of *tassements* in history (with which Hippeau was so familiar) was the line built from Quebec to New Orleans.

The scanty records remaining tell of the more prominent of these; but there must have been, in the colonial period, many a modest *tassement* of French traders all unknown to fame, and hundreds of crudely-drawn maps or tracings of routes that were never engraved for books or even copied in enduring manuscripts. The heroic colonial age of the west was largely characterized by individual daring, enterprise, endurance and achievement, un-

recorded, and lost even to family legend and popular tradition by the changes of sovereignty and of population.

What remains, even of vague, dim legend, should be treasured, especially where it is fortified very strongly by the evidence which a perpetuated name supplies.

The writer of the December contribution mentioned above seeks to derive the name "Tassinong" from an Indian word meaning plum, and presents the matter ingeniously. Such a derivation would involve the substitution of the sound of "n" for that of "m" (which I do not regard as a serious matter); but it presents other phonetic difficulties, which to me seem to be of a serious nature.

That writer's opinion is entitled to respectful consideration; but it seems to ignore the following facts, to say nothing of the inherent probability that some modest *tassement* of an early French trader, unknown to fame, existed in the neighborhood of Tassinong in the old French days (a probability that does not appeal to the contributor):

1. The fact that the tradition of the place, often told by the early settlers, and by them received from the Indians, was that a very old French trading establishment had existed there, of which not a splinter remained.

2. The fact that a word such as the French spelled *tassement*, varied perhaps in a single small particular (by the exchanging of an "m" sound for an "n" sound), was orally handed down through generations of Indians (who were in no way chargeable with the spelling, since they did not write the word, but only spoke it).

3. The fact that the earliest settlers, having acquired the very old name orally, from the Indians, gave its final syllable the French nasal sound (pronouncing "nong" as a very nasal "naw," and thrusting out their lips in the effort), to the later amusement of their children and grandchildren.

4. The fact that "Grove" was not a part of the Indian name, and was probably used only informally and by only a very few persons. I never heard of it before in this connection.

5. The fact that the minor *tassements* of the French did not always have names. Even Vincennes was long known simply as the "Poste," having no other name.

6. The fact that the more modest palisades would not likely be spoken of as *postes* (which would denote an official character),

but would more naturally be called by another and more generic name. Probably the legendary trading house at Tassinong was wholly a private affair, and never had any official designation (or character, other than the license of the trader would presuppose if he had one). Duluth, I learn, had neither a license nor a name for his *tassement* in Minnesota.

Since the Indians who transmitted the old name orally were not responsible for the spelling of "Tassinong" (which bears the earmarks of some one who understood the old conventional English rendering of the French syllable "ment"), that counts for little.

The principles of French syllabication are so well established that I should not think of arguing them. When any one tells me that French words like *tassement*, *nullement*, *tellement*, etc., etc., have but two syllables, I respectfully refer him to a competent professor of French.

In dealing with a light French syllable, Americans either fortify it or else ignore it. It may be remarked that "Tassinong" (unlike Prattville, which must be pronounced in two syllables, or Calumet, which must be pronounced in three) happens to contain a resonant liquid, the sound of "n"; and while I have been familiar with the name from babyhood, I could scarcely tell now, in hundreds of cases, whether the speaker using it is making one or two syllables of it. Happily, the oral pronunciation handed down presents no problem of syllables, at all.

In my preceding paper I did not urge the antecedent and inherent probability that the hunters' and trappers' paradise in my native county of Porter, north of the Kankakee, on the route taken by the first recorded incursion of the French into Indiana (La Salle's, 1679) should contain, within the French period, at least a modest and unnamed *tassement*. Yet this did appeal very strongly to a gentleman well acquainted with Smithsonian work in archaeology, and well posted in our colonial history, who took me to task somewhat severely, several years ago, for not making an effort to locate such a trading establishment. So strongly was he impressed with the inherent probability of its one-time existence (though he knew nothing at all of Tassinong), that he was concerned only as to its location. I looked, in Hippeau, for *tassement*, as an original form for the conventionalized "Tassinong," and found it with the mutation of a single letter, in *tassement*.

My purpose has not been to attempt anything sensational, but, as a conscientious duty, to contribute what I might of historical criticism relating to the region north of the Kankakee, so much neglected by writers of Indiana history. I presumed that the distinguished writer of the December contribution was acquainted with Hippeau and perhaps also with the *Dictionaries* of De Burguy, Roquefort, and Du Cange, which Hippeau so cleverly epitomized for our convenience.

While I perhaps had no right to assume this of so busy a gentleman, and may have overestimated his acquaintance with authorities on old French, it would be difficult for any one to overestimate his painstaking diligence in arresting the influence of impudent or careless historical impositions, and in sifting the great mass of materials, often very perplexing, which he has handled. Perhaps it is not to be wondered at that his feelings cause him, at times, to make use of exclamation points, and to demand facts and authorities in a somewhat undiplomatic way.

I am delighted to learn from him that the name "Tassinong" still appears on recent maps of Porter county. I hope it will long remain. Unless it shall be discovered elsewhere in current cartography, I shall be glad to feel that Porter county possesses, in a conventionalized form, the last remaining cartographic use of a name so full of heroic and romantic suggestiveness as attaches to the word *tassement* in old and historic French.

HUBERT M. SKINNER.

Reviews and Notes

George Washington: Farmer, Being An Account of His Home Life and Agricultural Activities. By PAUL LELAND HAWORTH. The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, pp. 336.

THE first question to suggest itself on reading the above title was What can a serious historian do with such a subject? Fortunately a reading of the book settles the question. The author has done at least four things and avoided doing one which has brought considerable notoriety to less sensible authors. The author has held strictly to the fundamental principles of good history writing. The whole account is based on a first hand study of Washington's own papers; he has produced a valuable commentary on the labor question, the problems of farming, the problem of good living, the social customs, and commercial conditions of that period; he has given us a new angle on the life of Washington; he has produced a very readable book; and finally he has not given us one of the modern "real" biographies by dipping into every trace of scandal handed down by the gossips of the times.

The account is concrete and descriptive. There are no opinions advanced, no theories set forth and argued at length. There is an atmosphere of reality preserved throughout. The author naturally has a snappy style, and the numerous expressions picked up from Washington's own pen help to keep one on the Mt. Vernon premises at all times. Some of the chapters are "Building an Estate", "Virginia Agriculture in Washington's Day", "Conserving the Soil", "The Stockman", "White Servants and Overseers", "Black Slaves", "A Farmer's Amusements", "Profit and Loss". The reader cannot escape believing that the author enjoyed browsing among the voluminous papers of General Washington. There is no evidence anywhere of that musty, dutsy, grind by which some writers make a living browsing through repulsive material hoping here and there to find a pay lead. Being a robust, red-blooded Hoosier farmer himself, he certainly enjoyed the long visits with "Our Farmer" as he rode from farm to farm, or chased the foxes, or cursed lazy negroes, or tried to raise bumper crops on worn out

land, or whiled away the wintry hours studying "Hoil." The fortunate thing about the whole affair is that he can take any reader who has any appreciation for farm life with him on these trips, so that he gets an idea of the great general not easily obtained elsewhere. The finest thing in the whole book is the testimony the author bears to the character of Washington. It seems that every new discovery, as he studied the Farmer day by day, increased his regard.

Michigan Historical Collections, Vol. XXXIX. MICHIGAN HISTORICAL COMMISSION, Lansing, Mich., 1915. p. 601.

This volume contains besides the usual reports and a Subject and Author Index for the whole series, the following papers: Patrick Sinclair, Western Sketches of Caroline Kirkland, Dr. Douglass Houghton, Prehistoric Copper Mines of Lake Superior, Prominent Newspaper Men in Michigan, James McMillan, Will Carleton, Thomas W. Palmer, Two Early Missionaries, Saginaw County, Study of Michigan History, Memoirs of Pioneer Settlers, Biographical Sketches (14 in number). The volume contains several articles of great value to Indiana readers. The Michigan Historical Commission under the lead of Governor Ferris is doing a great deal of work. Dr. Charles Moore is editor for the Commission.

The Illinois Whigs Before 1846. By CHARLES MANFORD THOMPSON, Ph. D., Associate in Economics, University of Illinois, Urbana, 1915. pp. 165.

THIS is a preliminary study to a history of the Whigs of Illinois. The five chapter heads: Genesis of the Illinois Whigs; The Emergence of the Whig party, 1834-1839; Harrison and Tyler, 1839-1841; Sectional and State Issues, 1841-1845; and The Illinois Whigs and National Politics, 1841-1845, show fairly accurately the field the author has examined. From another point of view the study seems to fall into three sections; the period of personal politics, the period of State politics, and the period when national issues dominated the field. Each of these periods developed its characteristic men. Governor Edwards built up a strong personal following, the men of the second period built up sectional followings, depending for their cohesion on local interest. This was the period of bank and internal improvement legislation. In the third

period men of national significance were developed. Dr. Thompson has not developed this idea extensively but has gone perhaps as far as the facts would warrant. He has wisely refrained from the sweeping generalization which historians are constantly tempted to make.

The study is most significant for Indiana. Our party history is almost a counterpart of that of Illinois. Indiana had its Jennings as Illinois had its Edwards; Indiana had its experience in Internal Improvements backed up largely by the Whig party, but really a non-partisan movement; the Indiana Supreme Court was attacked by politicians at the same time as that of Illinois. The author's description of the Harrison Campaign if a few names were changed would do for the campaign in Indiana. The charge of scandal against Clay and Adams was made in one state the same as the other. Indiana had the same conflict between the northern and southern parts of the state, though not so acute as in Illinois. The opposition to Jackson and Van Buren crystallized into the Whig party in Indiana about the same time and in about the same way as in Illinois. The Jacksonian party in 1824 found its strongest weapon in denouncing officeholders. The Whig party was evidently much stronger in Indiana as early as 1832 and certainly in 1836 conducted a well organized campaign carrying the State.

The study is a good one, well written, based on what seems sufficient data. The wide use of the newspapers of the period is especially to be commended. Above all it is encouraging to see such men as Dr. Thompson devoting their time to the history of the middle period of the West. It is certainly one of the most profitable fields in our history for investigation.

THE December *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* of Philadelphia has the first section of the journal of Reverend Father Marie Joseph Durand. It was translated from the French and edited by Ella M. E. Flick. In 1803 a group of French Trappists, refugees, came to America to establish a foundation. In 1805 Father Joseph joined them. They decided not to locate in America and returned to France at the time of the Restoration. Father Joseph lingered in the West till 1820, when he too returned. The journal published in the *Records* is his official report made on his return to France.

IN the *Indianapolis Medical Journal* for January, the editor, Dr. A. W. Brayton, very kindly calls attention to the work of the Indiana Historical Society and the Indiana Magazine of History. No men in the state have better opportunities for learning of valuable historical materials than the physicians. The Historical Society belongs to no class or profession and would gladly avail itself of any and all possible assistance.

THE *Attica Daily Tribune* of January 26, 1916, contains some local traditions concerning Scott's attack upon the Indians of the Wea Towns in 1791. These traditions are to the effect that a battle was fought on the hills opposite Attica at the same time Scott destroyed the Wea Towns. It is suggested that this may refer to the battle between Colonel John Hardin and the Indians. In his official report General Scott says he detached Colonel Hardin with sixty men to attack some villages to his left—that is, down the river. Hardin executed the order but after Scott had driven the Indians from the Wea Towns he received word from Hardin that he had found more Indians than he expected and was hard pressed. Scott was five miles west of Lafayette.

THE *Plainfield Messenger* of January 27, 1916, contains the first of a series of papers by Mrs. Clara Vickrey on the development of transportation in Indiana from pioneer times down to the present.

THE *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* for January has a brief biography of Col. J. Stoddard Johnston of Kentucky. He was a leading editor and politician after the war. He was the son of Senator Josiah Stoddard Johnston of Louisiana and the nephew of Albert Sidney Johnston. The Johnstons were a Connecticut family yet most of them fought on the Confederate side during the Rebellion. Col. J. S. Johnston was adjutant on the staff of General Breckenridge. The biography is by George Baber. The *Register* also contains a copy of the "Boone Records" from the manuscripts of the Society of Friends of Pennsylvania; and a very entertaining account of the visit of Burr and Blennerhasset to "Chaumiere," the country seat of Col. David Meade.

"THE Story of the Burnett Family" is told by J. Wesley Whicker in the *Attica Ledger* of January 28. The Burnetts were French

half-breeds who took sides with the Indians in their struggles with the white people. They were allied by marriage with the Kickapoos. It is said that they planned an ambushade for Harrison's army in 1811, as it should cross Pine Creek, but that they were circumvented by Zachariah Cicot, the half-breed guide of Harrison, who led the army back from the Wabash ten miles to make the crossing. Tradition has it that Abraham Burnett commanded the Kickapoos at the Battle of Tippecanoe, and that his father and oldest brother were killed in 1791 in Scott's attack on the Kickapoos.

The Story of Zachariah Cicot, the French half-breed scout who guided Harrison to Tippecanoe in 1811, is told by Mr. Whicker in the *Attica Ledger* of January 21, 1816. Cicot seems to have been the first settler in Warren county.

THE Princeton *Clarion-News* of Dec. 25, 1915, contains reminiscences by Col. G. R. Stormont. The story of the Nachez storm and that concerning the ravages of the smallpox are interesting reading.

AN article by Herman Rave of New Albany in the Indianapolis *News* of January 22, deals with the work of Christian Post and other Moravian Missionaries among the western Indians before the Revolution.

REV. EDGAR F. DAUGHERTY, pastor of the First Christian Church of Vincennes, delivered a series of addresses on the Early History of Vincennes. The first of these appeared in the *Vincennes Commercial*, December 10.

THE *Vevay Reveille* of December 9 does the Indiana Magazine of History the honor of republishing entire Miss Knox's History of Vevay which appeared in the September number. The editor forgot to give the magazine credit, however. Credit ought to be given inasmuch as all matter in the magazine is copyrighted.

THE January *History Teacher's Magazine* has an article by Professor S. B. Harding on "The Nature and Method of History."

Indiana Historical Society Publications

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The Society should have an income of \$5,000 per year. Indiana has at least 5,000 men and women who are interested in the State's history; and it is thought that if the matter were brought to their attention they would help in the work. The membership fee is not a gift. The Society sends its publications free to its members. These will cost on an average \$1 per year. It also sends the Indiana Magazine of History, of which it is a joint publisher, free. The price of the Magazine itself is the same as the entire membership fee.

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INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

Vol. XII

JUNE, 1916

No. 2

The Socialist Party in Indiana Since 1896

BY ORA ELLEN COX, Logansport, Indiana

THE Socialist Party in Indiana is not something different and apart from the general Socialist movement; on the other hand it is affiliated with and subordinated to the Socialist Party in America. It also cleaves closely to the principles of International Socialism as outlined by the national platforms and decisions of International Congresses. This State has been one of the most regular in its adherence to the national organization. The Unity Convention permitted the various States and Territories much latitude in organizing to suit the needs of the various sections, but there is at present a tendency to bring all the State organizations under the more direct control of the national offices. Indiana will have nothing to undo, as it started right.

Indiana may justly claim some prestige in the Socialist Party. New Harmony, Indiana, was the scene of the most important of the Owenite movements. While this experiment did not have any direct connection with the present political party, it served to show social unrest and sowed some seeds, the fruit of which was harvested by reformers in favor of the emancipation of labor.¹ Robert Owen was called "Our Dear Social Father" and it is said by Owen's associates that Owen claimed to have used the word "Socialism" at least ten years before it was adopted by any other writer. If he did not actually use the word it came into use as a substitute for Owenite.²

¹ *Socialism*, by John Spargo (1906), 11.

² *International Socialist Review*, Vol. VI, No. 1. July (1905).

The Socialist contribution to the picture gallery of party emblems in its present form is the work of James Oneal, of Terre Haute. The design represents two clasped hands around the globe. Encircling the picture is the famous motto of Karl Marx, "Workers of the World Unite" and the words, "Socialist Party." This badge is used by the national organization and by nearly all of the States.

The Socialist paper, *The Appeal to Reason*, was started in Greensburg, Indiana, under the name of *The Coming Nation*.³ The place was selected because the editor desired his paper to circulate from the center of population. It was in this paper that Eugene Debs first advocated "the establishment by ballot of a commonwealth based upon co-operation."

Mr. Debs, the party's candidate for president in four campaigns, was born in Terre Haute and still lives in his native city. His brother Theodore was the first national secretary of the Social Democratic party.

The Unity Convention which launched the present Socialist party was held in Indianapolis and John W. Kelly, of Marion, has the honor of being the first chairman of the first convention of the Socialist Party in America.⁴

The movement was not entirely new, "The Socialist Labor party" had been organized some twenty-five years before;⁵ and had been the main representative of the Socialist movement during this period though related societies of an educational character were to be found here and there. Its highly centralized form of organization and adherence to a dogmatic censorship over the utterances of its members bred dissention in the early nineties. In 1896 the Socialist Labor Party organized the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance as an antagonist of the trade union movement. This was an outcome of fruitless efforts to force the trade unions to accept Socialist principles. These two organizations never proved a success and the dissatisfaction it caused in the ranks of the Socialist Labor Party resulted in a split in the party in July, 1899. The larger part of the membership withdrew and organized with headquarters in New York City. There were two Socialist Labor Parties with headquarters in the same city.

On January 1, 1897, Mr. Eugene Debs issued a circular to the members of American Railway Union entitled "Present Conditions

³ *The Coming Nation*. Nov. 23, 1895.

⁴ *Proceedings of the Unity Convention*.

⁵ Hunter, *Socialists at Work*, 358.

and Future Duties" and at the same date issued a card to the Associated Press announcing his conversion to socialism, saying, "I am for Socialism because I am for humanity."⁶ It was hoped that this stand taken by their leader would bring the American Railway Union into the folds of Socialism and it did so, practically.

The Social Democracy of America was organized in Chicago June 18, 1897. This party was the result of a union between members of the American Railway Union numbering about 150,000, the Brotherhood of the Co-operative Commonwealth, and the independent organizations of Socialists, most of whom had left the Socialist Labor Party. The national executive board was composed of old American Railway Union officers, "The five Woodstock prisoners."⁷ The organization was somewhat crude and indefinite in its declarations of principles and in its working methods. It provided for a colonization department with the view of capturing some western State and organizing a model Socialist commonwealth as an example for the other States. Mr. Debs and others made tours of the East and South in interest of the new party. The elections of 1898 show gains of this faction over the Socialist Labor Party, electing two aldermen in Sheboygan, Wisconsin. "In Richmond, Indiana, their candidate for Mayor received 89 votes."⁸

The first national convention of the Social Democracy met in Chicago June 7, 1898. Eugene V. Debs presided. There were present 170 delegates representing 94 branches. The issue of political action versus colonization immediately developed. A split followed. The political actionists were in the minority. The advocates of colonization established two small colonies in Washington State. They maintained a precarious existence for a few months when Social Democracy disappeared. The thirty-seven political action delegates bolted the convention, reconvened at Hull House and organized a political party, taking the name Social Democratic Party of America, with headquarters in Chicago with Theodore Debs, of Terre Haute, as national secretary and treasurer.⁹ On March 6, 1900, this new organization met in National Convention at Indianapolis with 67 delegates representing 2,136 votes.¹⁰ Each was a

⁶ S. M. Reynolds, *Debs; His Life, Writings and Speeches*, 20.

⁷ *Social Democracy*, edited by Frederick Heath (1900), 58.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁹ *History of Socialism in U. S.*, Morris Hillquit, 333.

¹⁰ The delegates from Indiana were the following: John Ozanic and Hugh Miller, Indianapolis; Matthew Hollenbarger, Evansville; William Blanks, Kokomo; John W. Kelly, Marion; Eugene Debs, Theodore Debs, James Oneal,

delegate at large and had as many votes in the convention as he had signatures of members attached to his credentials. The responsibility of all actions was placed upon the membership.

The convention nominated Eugene V. Debs, of Terre Haute, for president and Job Harriman, of California, vice-president. The latter was the presidential candidate of the rebellious faction of the Socialist Labor Party and had been nominated a few months before at Rochester, New York. A committee on unity representing the Rochester convention appeared at the Indianapolis convention of the Social Democratic Party and after an earnest presentation of the need of unity a committee was elected to confer with a like committee from New York.

The recommendations of the joint conference of three were submitted to both organizations for a general vote of their members. They were rejected by a vote of 1,336 to 720, but this did not prevent both factions from supporting the same presidential ticket. The Socialist Labor Party, in anticipation of unity, adopted the same name as the Chicago organization and so there were two Social Democratic parties. However, the result of the presidential campaign brought a better understanding between members of both organizations, so that a union convention met in Indianapolis, June 29, 1901, and this date marks the beginning of the real Socialist party.

Besides economic conditions there were other reasons why this was an opportune time for the birth of a new party.¹¹ The Populist Party was in the West, the Greenback in the Middle West and Northwest, and Union Labor in the East. These organizations were casting a quarter of a million votes without electing any of their candidates. The Populist Party in its convention in Omaha in 1892 tried to catch the votes of the labor unions by its plank which said: "Wealth belongs to him who creates it and every dollar taken from industry without its equivalent is robbery. The interests of rural and civic laborers are the same; their enemies are identical."¹² The Populists fused with the Democrats in 1896. Debs supported Bryan in this campaign, but there were many who would not affiliate with the old line parties and there was a counter agitation probably due to the direct and indirect teaching of Karl Marx.¹³ The union

Judson Oneal, Herman Stuempfle, Clarence Kingery, John Kingery and Ed H. Evinger, Terre Haute.

¹¹ *Why I Am a Socialist*, Chas. E. Russel, 144.

¹² *History of Socialism in U. S.*, Morris Hillquit, 319.

¹³ *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, by Karl Marx, 4.

resulted in the election of a few officers and it was thought that if all factions would unite upon a program success would eventually crown their efforts.

With this end in view the convention which met in the old Masonic Temple on West Washington street, in Indianapolis, was the largest and most enthusiastic one that had ever met for a similar purpose. There were 124 delegates and each delegate had from one to four hundred names on his credentials.

"Among the delegates there, were men who had been active in all phases of the socialist movement, and alongside of them men of prominence who had recently come into the ranks. The composition of the convention also served to demonstrate how much the character of the socialist movement had changed during the last few years. No more than twenty per cent. were foreign born."¹⁴ About 10,000 members drawn from all factions were represented by these delegates, but out of it came a strong organization which has steadily increased.

The new party assumed the name, Socialist Party,¹⁵ except in States where a different name had or may become a legal requirement.¹⁶ The Socialist Labor Party did not fuse with the new one but still exists as a small remnant of the once vigorous organization by that name, but its growth and influence does not keep pace with the Socialist.¹⁷

¹⁴ *A History of Socialism in the United States*. Morris Hillquit, 338-9.

¹⁵ *Proceedings of the Unity Convention*, 577.

¹⁶ *Report of the Socialist Party of the United States of America to the International Socialist and Trades Union Congress*, Amsterdam, 1904.

¹⁷ The delegates to the unity convention from Indiana were as follows: M. Greuling, John M. Ray, William Hamilton and Charles Cotton, Indianapolis; William Blenks, Kokomo; John Adams, Brazil; Martin Wefel, Ft. Wayne; John W. Kelly, Marion; James Oneal and Ed H. Evinger, Terre Haute. By the constitution of the Unity Convention "The affairs of the Socialist Party shall be administered by a National Committee, its officers and executive committee, the party conventions, and the general vote of the party." The officers, committeemen and delegates to conventions are all to be elected by referendum vote. "All party nominees whether municipal state or national shall file with their respective nominating bodies a resignation covering both their nomination and election which shall be operative whenever their nominating bodies declare that said nominees have proven themselves untrue to their trust." To become a member of the party it is necessary to be a resident of United States, eighteen years of age and to sever connection with all other political parties and to pay dues to the State committee who shall pay each month a sum equal to five cents to the National Committee for every member in good standing in their respective territories. "Each state or territory may organize in such way or manner and under such rules and regulations as it may determine, but not in conflict with the power of this Constitution. A State or territory shall be deemed organized and shall have a right to affiliate upon the organization of not less than four branches, each branch to consist of not less than five members. Each State

The Unity Convention, in adopting a national constitution, made the unit of organization the State; hence, locals must affiliate with the State. Dues stamps can be had only from the State office. The general principle is State autonomy with its locals working in harmony with the National organization.

Indiana had been organized under the Social Democratic party which had recognized local branches in cities and towns as units. Dues were paid directly to the National office and if the members paid any dues to the State organization it was purely an individual matter.¹⁸ The State had fared well in this voluntary payment for Hugo Miller, State Treasurer, was able to report to the Indianapolis convention, June 24, 1901, a surplus of \$23.85 after paying all expenses that had accrued since the organization of the State executive board on July 20, 1900.

The committee on State organization for Indiana, which had been selected by the delegates to the unity convention, went to work to reconstruct the Socialist branches, locals and independent organizations. Bulletins were sent out requesting special meetings to pass upon the plans at once and report to the secretary of the committee their vote upon the following: "Seat of Headquarters—Terre Haute and Indianapolis, nominated. Shall State officers be elected by referendum vote to serve until first convention?"¹⁹

The efforts of the committee met with such good success that ere the appointed time Indiana received her charter.²⁰

The National Organization affiliates with the State through the National Committee.²¹ In the beginning the States and Territories

and territory organized shall receive a charter. The States are to elect National Committeemen by September 1, 1901."—*Proceedings of the Unity Convention*, 641-642.

¹⁸ *Report of State Treasurer to the Delegates of the Indiana State Convention; The Toiler, Terre Haute*, Sept. 20, 1901.

¹⁹ *The Toiler: Terre Haute*, Sept. 20, 1901.

²⁰ This charter reads as follows: "To the Comrades of the Socialist Party in the State of Indiana, Greeting: Your application for affiliation with the Socialist Party has been granted and your organization has been entered on the roll as the State organization of Indiana. Provided, that your organization shall issue no platforms or utterances in conflict with the National Platform and will not institute any rules or regulations in conflict with the provisions of the National Constitutions. The National Committee reserves the right to suspend or revoke this charter on account of violation of the above provisions.

"Dated at St. Louis, Mo., this 16th day of October, 1901.

(Signed) National Committee,

"E. Val. Putnam, Chairman,

"Leon Greenbaum, Secretary."

This charter is framed and hangs in the office at State Headquarters.

²¹ "The affairs of the Socialist Party shall be administered by the National Committee, its sub-committees and officials, the National Convention and the

when organized were allowed one member but as the party increases in size additional members on basis of party strength are permitted.²² In 1904 an additional member for every thousand members or major fraction thereof, in good standing in the party. In 1908 this was increased to two thousand and in 1912 to three thousand :

For the purpose of determining the representation to which each State or Territory may be entitled, the executive secretary shall compute at the beginning of each calendar year the average dues-paying membership of such State or Territory for the preceding year. Three years' consecutive membership in the party shall be necessary to qualify for membership in the National Committee.²²

By a recent ruling of the party the State secretaries of all organized States and Territories may act as National Committeemen or such other persons as the members of the party in the State shall elect by referendum vote. The committeemen may also be subject to recall by referendum. The National Committee meets once a year but it may hold special sessions by a vote of two-thirds of its members. "The members attending the meetings shall be paid from the national treasury their railroad fares and \$2.50 per day to cover expenses."

The duties of the National Committee are carried on largely by correspondence. They have charge of the following:—calling conventions, making reports, strengthening the organization by propaganda, managing a lecture bureau, routing lectures in districts that are weak, formulating rules and order of business of national convention, receiving reports from State organizations, conducting national referendums, recommending amendments to the National Constitution, appropriating the funds, and electing some national officers.

The national committee keeps in close touch with the work of the State through the State party offices. The constitution for the Socialist party in Indiana provides that :

The management of the Socialist party of Indiana shall be administered by its officers, an executive committee, a State committee, locals and branches, party conventions, and general vote of the membership. The officers and committees of this organization shall consist of a Chairman, State Secretary-Treasurer, Woman Correspondent, Executive Committee of five members, and a proper quota of National Committeemen.²³

general vote of the party." Act III, Sec. 1, *Constitution of the Socialist Party*. 1914.

²² *Constitution of the Socialist Party*, 1904. Art. IV, Sec. 1, and later amendments.

²³ *National Constitution of Socialist Party* 1912, Art. V, Sec. 1-12.

The party officers and committees up to the adoption of the new constitution April 10, 1914, had been named by the party in State convention and then submitted to the locals for a referendum vote. It was necessary to name at least two persons for each office so there might be a choice, but by the present system the State secretary-treasurer sends out a call on the first Monday in October to the locals for nominations giving a limited time for nominations and acceptances:

Then within ten days ballots shall be prepared and sent out for the referendum; thirty days to be allowed for the vote; should there be no majority vote for any candidate on the first ballot, then within ten days all names but the two highest shall be dropped; when more than two candidates remain and only one to be elected, and all but three dropped when two are to be elected, and so on allowing of one candidate in excess of the actual number to be elected before a second and final ballot is to be taken. Thirty days shall be allowed for the second ballot.

The duties of the State party officers are definitely outlined:

The Chairman shall attend to all political transactions involving the signing of documents, as may be prescribed by State law. He shall attend to the political affairs of the party and supply such information regarding the election laws as may be required by virtue of his office. He shall be a member of the Executive Committee, and he shall have been a member of the party for two consecutive preceding elections.²⁴

The real business of the party is transacted by the secretary-treasurer. In the beginning of the party the duties of this hyphenated officer were performed by two different members, each serving as a labor of love, but the work was too much for a man to do and carry on his own business. In 1904:

It was decided that the duties of secretary shall be performed by a regularly employed and paid official who shall devote his entire time to the work and shall receive as compensation a minimum salary of fifty dollars a month or a maximum of eighty at the discretion of the state executive board.²⁵

The salary question was later placed in the hands of the State Convention. It has been gradually increased from fifty dollars to sixty in 1911, sixty-five in 1912 and seventy-five since 1912. The office rent and supplies are paid for by the party and the fixtures are owned by the party.

The State Secretary-Treasurer shall have charge of all affairs of the

²⁴ *Constitution of the Socialist Party of Indiana.* Art. IV, Sec. 1.

²⁵ *Constitution of the Socialist Party of Indiana.* 1904. Art. IV, Sec. 3.

state office subject to the direction of the Executive Committee, conduct the correspondence of the state office, sign and issue charters, sell and distribute Socialist literature, report to the National Secretary as provided in the National Constitution, report monthly to the locals an itemized account of the receipts and expenditures and general work of the previous month; annually render to the State Convention a full account financially and otherwise of the year; keep a system of names of all the active Socialists of Indiana; attend to the touring of all organizers (state and national) working in the state, and do such other work as may be imposed by the Executive Committee, said amount to be not less than \$500.²⁶

The office of the secretary-treasurer is the headquarters for the State. It is open the year round and is a regular beehive of activity. A fairly good-sized book store must be conducted besides taking care of the party records. The room is the editorial one for publishing the *Indiana Socialist Party Bulletin*, copies of which are sent to the locals for distribution among the members so that each one may keep in touch with every move that is made and know how the money is used, for the members "pay the fiddler and call the tunes."

Closely connected with the work of the secretary-treasurer is that of the executive committee, composed of the chairman and four other members:

The state organization shall pay all necessary expenses of members of the Executive Committee and allow them two dollars per day during time of actual service. They shall meet every four months or oftener if necessary between meetings, the business of the party to be carried on by correspondence.²⁷

This committee has concurrent powers in connection with the secretary-treasurer in transacting all business that is not expressly delegated to the State secretary-treasurer or the vote of the party. It has original jurisdiction in the care of all legal possessions of the party in Indiana, also in the hearing and revoking of any charter of any subdivision which is accused of violating party principles.

Another very important party officer in the State organization is the Woman's State Correspondent or secretary. The constitution of the party places this office co-ordinate with State secretary but does not define the duties, while the constitutions of 1912 and 1913 define the duties but do not classify the position. Her duties are to keep in touch with women correspondents elected by the locals and with the State secretary-treasurer, who is to co-operate with her to bring

²⁶ *Constitution of Socialist Party of Indiana*. 1904. Art. IV, Sec. 2.

²⁷ *Constitution of Socialist Party of Indiana*. 1914. Art. IV, Sec. 4 and Sec. 5.

women into the Socialist party and make them intelligent suffragist Socialists.

The first woman correspondent, Rosa Lehnert, of Indianapolis in her report to the State convention in 1912 made some unexpected recommendations for the men to follow, one of which was :

That the male membership of the State take particular note of the rapid growth of sentiment toward granting women the rights of franchise—that when the time does arrive that they may be counted on our side and not allow them to be used as a boomerang to defeat us after our years of agitation in their behalf.²⁸

In another paragraph she speaks of the need of Socialism's being carried "to every woman wage slave, or slave of a slave in our State. This can best be accomplished by the husband and father, who are already Socialists staying at home with the children and in other ways make it possible for the wife and mother to attend their meetings."

Working with the woman's correspondent there are at present three hundred dues-paying members standing on the same footing as the men with a voice and vote in the party management. They distribute each week thousands of leaflets on Socialism and Woman's Suffrage, or any literature especially for women, whether they be wage workers or wives of wage earners.

Aside from party work they never let an opportunity go by to assist in any suffrage demonstration. Before the meeting of the General Assembly in 1913 the State correspondent, Lilith Martin, of Anderson, sent suffrage petitions to all locals in the State for their signatures and for those of their friends. She secured three or four thousand signatures for equal suffrage and gathered the women party leaders together in Indianapolis prepared to assist the other organizations of the State that were for equal suffrage. The Equal Franchise bill did not pass the committee but the Socialist women proved their willingness to help the women of the State even if they did have different political views. This co-operation has resulted in placing the Socialist women in a better standing with the other suffragists of the State. Miss Florence Wattles, a prominent Socialist organizer, is a favorite speaker for them. The special work for the women has not been as successful as it was claimed it would be. The women generally prefer to do their work in the locals co-ordinate with the men.

²⁸ *Report of Women's State Correspondent to State Convention of the Socialist Party of Indiana, Indianapolis, Jan. 27, 28, 1912.*

The activities of the party are kept alive in season and out of season by the lowest unit of organization, the local or branch. This is in reality a political club. "By subscribing to the constitution and the platform of the Socialist party five or more persons may organize a local, subject to the approval of the executive committee." This number has not been changed since the beginning of the party organization.

It was the intention of the party at first to make the county local the unit. In the constitution of 1902, little is said about organization except "Each county organization shall determine its own initiation fees and dues, provided that it shall include ten cents per month for each member to be paid to the State treasurer." In 1904 we again have the county emphasized:

This organization shall be divided into county organizations to be known as Locals which may in turn be subdivided into subordinate bodies known as branches, but all business with State offices shall be transacted through county organizations. The first organization formed in any county shall be granted jurisdiction in such county, but upon organization of all other branches a county organization must be formed and each additional branch must be given proportional representation in the management of county affairs.²⁹

By the present method of organization the local quite as often centers in a town as the county, provided—

Only one Local may be organized in each town or city; but in townships where no town or city is located each township may contain one Local. A branch shall be a division of a Local and shall constitute a component part thereof and may only be organized and granted a charter by the Local Central Committee.

The local receives its charter from the State signed by the State chairman and State secretary; the branch from the county or oldest local in the county and it is signed by the county chairman and the county secretary. The conditions are the same as those required for a State charter except they go somewhat further. The local adds State to its national obligations; and the branch, county, to State and national. The committee granting the charter reserves the right to revoke it for violation of its obligations.

"The following officers, at least, shall be elected by each local: organizer, secretary, financial secretary, literature agent, a chairman and a woman correspondent." The secretary shall report to the

²⁹ *Constitution of Socialist Party in Indiana, 1904. Art. III, Sec. 1.*

state secretary-treasurer the facts of the organization. He in turn will be provided with blanks upon which monthly reports must be made and if the local fails to make a "report for three months shall not be considered in good standing and shall not be entitled to participate in any referendum or general business of the State organization. Locals or members thereof shall not co-operate with or fuse in any manner with any other political party."

The right of membership is inherent in the local. The applicant must present the proper credentials and, if there is any objection to his becoming a member, two-thirds majority is required for admission. The local may expel:

Any person proved guilty of violating the laws and principles of the organization must be suspended or expelled. Accused shall have written charges preferred against them, signed by the accuser, and furnished a written copy of the same thirty days before trial and allowed a fair and impartial trial. Members must belong to a Local at least three months before casting a vote to expell or retain a member.

The right of any Local or branch to carry on its work of agitation, education and propaganda in such manner and with such literature or speakers as may be deemed best by a majority of its members shall not be questioned; but no local or branch shall employ speakers to advocate or distribute literature advocating any connection with any capitalist or reform party or with any religious or industrial organization.

The slogan of the local is "Keep Busy." Some locals have in addition to their regular monthly business meeting sessions of study and of pleasure. These meetings are usually held on Sunday as that is the only time the working man cares to attend. The notices of meetings appear in the party papers but seldom in a local one.³⁰ It is the intention to make the coming together a means of holding Socialists together and keep up their enthusiasm and to attract outsiders so as to make converts of them.

Methods of propaganda are discussed and campaigns are mapped out and followed up between meetings by circulating *The Appeal* and as they say, "If that does not bring a man in, then try *The Rip Saw* and it will fetch him." Some get lists of subscribers to their party papers and follow up those routes by a canvass to sell literature. Books are borrowed from public libraries and loaned to persons whose taste prefers a bound book to a pamphlet.

Some locals have regularly planned courses of study in Socialist

³⁰ Socialist Party Meeting. Regular meeting of the 14th Ward, west, every Sunday morning at 9:30, at the corner of Harvard St. and Blair Ave., in I. O. O. F. Building. Charles Becker, Sec.

literature. Debating is a favorite intellectual exercise. They will challenge any one to meet them. One of their favorite subjects for discussion is immediate action versus political, if they can receive answers to their challenge from advocates of immediate action. The locals are allowed much latitude and frequently become clanish. Madison county local keeps things moving. They have a business meeting on Sunday afternoon at which each branch makes a report and after this they sing. On Wednesday night they study law. On Thursday night they have a euchre club.

Vigo County Local has a band called the Unity Vigo County Socialist Band. This band is composed of Socialists and plays only for Socialist and labor meetings, parades, etc.

Another feature of the local meetings is the appointment of committees to investigate the conditions of the poor in their vicinity. They go from house to house and see if there are any cases of real need. They are especially active in a strike because this is an opportune time to befriend people who may eventually be won to party membership.

Members distribute literature in envelopes designed for the purpose. Printed on the back are these words:

Please read the enclosed. You will find it both interesting and instructive. If after reading, you wish to retain, the price is five cents; otherwise please return. The party leaving this will call again in a few days.

A study of Socialist methods of membership will show something distinctly original in American politics.

It is not necessary to be a voter in order to join the Socialist party. At first any one sixteen years old, later changed to eighteen years, without question as to color, sex, creed, or previous condition of political servitude unless this party service was not under civil service is eligible.

In order to become a member of the party an applicant must subscribe to the following:

I, the undersigned, recognizing the class struggle between the capitalist class and the working class, and the necessity of the working class constituting itself into a political party distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the capitalist class, hereby declare that I have severed my relations with all other parties, and I endorse the platform and constitution of the Socialist Party including the principle of political action, and hereby apply for admission to said party.

The original application is kept with the recording secretary of the local or branch with which the application is made and a duplicate is sent to the State committee unless the county has a central committee, in which case it goes through their hands to the State committee.

A careful watch is kept lest some one is brought into the fold who is not orthodox. It is not numbers of members but quality that is demanded. The following item shows what is liable to happen whenever there are any irregularities:

Member Expelled! Local Ft. Wayne requests that announcement be made that Sam. L. Randolph of Central Branch has been expelled by the party. The expelled member was active in support of Woodrow Wilson and the Democratic Party.³¹

Another original feature in political organization is the dues-paying system. Its financial support as well as its political depends upon the working people and those in sympathy with them. They have a voice and a vote in all the party affairs from the selection of the officers of the local to national committeemen from their State. Through the referendum they have a voice in national affairs of the party.

When a member is admitted to the party membership he receives a red card which is now used as a cover for the State constitution of the party. Up to 1913 the folder was separate but it was thought better to make the change, "The purpose being that each applicant becoming a member of the Socialist party will be sure of having a State constitution to familiarize himself with the working order of the Socialist party."³²

The face of the folding card has blanks to fill in name, address, date of admission, State and local. The back of it has blanks to fill for transfer record. Inside there is placed a scheme for receipts for dues.

There are spaces printed for three years of dues stamps and the other fourth of the space is left for "Special Stamps which may be issued to members who have paid dues for three months and who are out of work temporarily under any condition which is not within their control."³³

³¹ *Indiana Socialist Bulletin*, November, 1912.

³² *Minutes of the State Convention of the Socialist Party of Indiana*, Marion, Feb. 8-9, 1913.

³³ *National Constitution of Socialists*, 1912. Art. X, Sec. 7.

The due stamps are small adhesive ones not quite so large as a postage stamp. The sale of these is the only sure support of the party. The national office prints them and sends them to the State secretary so that the office receives five cents for each member, excluding those whose affiliation is kept up by exemption stamps. The member so elected is called a "red card" Socialist to distinguish him from other factions. The secretary-treasurer sells these stamps to the Locals or Branches for a "sum equal to fifteen cents for each due stamp. Ten per cent of the dues received by the State office each month shall be set aside as mileage fund for delegates to the State Convention" and the balance, after the national office receives its pay, goes to support the State offices.

The monthly dues are payable on the first day of each month. Any member in arrears for three months will not be deemed in good standing, and shall not be entitled to vote on referendum or in convention, provided that this shall not apply to regular members who are unable to pay.

The local or branch sells the due stamps for twenty-five cents and ten cents of this sum maintains the Local organization. Any one living in a locality where there is no Local may apply to the secretary-treasurer for admission to membership and enclose one month's dues. The dues of members-at-large are twenty-five cents per month. The secretary-treasurer keeps a careful record of all receipts and expenditures of dues and makes an annual report to the Locals of the State and the delegates to the State convention and each month in the *Socialist Party Indiana Bulletin* sends to the locals reports of the receipts of the previous month and the same month a year before so that each one may know if the funds are increasing.

The following figures show the dues paid in Indiana for the past eleven years: 1903, \$419.06 (8 months); 1904, \$732.35; 1905, \$717.25; 1906, \$1,135.85; 1907, \$851.13; 1908, \$1,886.22; 1909, \$1,660.39; 1910, \$2,262.00; 1911, \$3,742.51; 1912, \$4,769.15; 1913, \$3,414.80.

It will be observed by the above table that campaign years produce better results than off years, yet the figures show a healthful growth; and that while some members take a Rip Van Winkle sleep they can be revived and depended upon. The cause suffers for a short time and then recovers.

There are other causes than lack of interest that may cause a retrenching in funds.

In the latter three months of the year of 1913 there has been quite a number of exempt stamps called for, probably more of these stamps were used in the last three or four months in Indiana than all times since the exemption stamps have been in use in the Party.³⁴

There is another purpose besides financing the party that the dues system serves. It keeps the party organization in touch with its constituents and forbids some new advocate from stepping into places of trust and taking the reins out of the hands of the "war horses."

No member shall be nominated for civil office on the Socialist ticket, nor for office in the party organization unless he has been a member of the party for two years preceding the nomination; provided, that this shall not prevent nominations in political subdivisions where there has been no organization for so long a period.

The revenue of this organization shall be derived from the sale of dues, stamps, party supplies, literature and from pledges and contributions from individuals and Locals.

The publicity of campaign funds was fundamental with the Socialists and was done before there was a law requiring it.

The platform speaker of the Socialist party is not only a speaker to rally the party and get new converts to it, but he is an organizer. If five members may be found where there is no organization or if by reason of indifference the Local has lapsed when it once had existed, it is the duty to form a local.

The organizers receive a salary varying from two dollars to five per day and expenses. In the beginning of the party propaganda the organizer spoke on the street because few halls would be open on account of prejudice or lack of pay. Now if they speak on the street corner it is from choice. The speakers take up collections and sell literature. The literature is sold to the State office from the national at wholesale price. The organizers sell at retail price and the difference between these two prices goes to the State organization.

In 1912 there were thirteen speakers in the field with a total of 856 days out.³⁵ The amount of literature sales was \$864.00 While the speakers receive a regular salary and expenses, the amount they turn over to the State frequently balances their expenses. Locals sometimes secure speakers independently of the State committee

³⁴ Annual Report of the State Secretary-Treasurer of Socialist Party in Indiana, 1913.

³⁵ State Secretary-Treasurer's Report for 1912.

and pay a much larger sum for their services than those receive who are routed by the State.

There is an enormous amount of pamphlets given away, 21,700 free ones being sent to some weak Locals in one month. Tons of free literature have been sent out from the State headquarters.

The lyceum department of the national office sends speakers out at their own expense. They usually spend ten or twelve days in a State and speak each day. Mr. W. A. Jacobs, of Wisconsin, spoke on "Political Power" in Indiana last campaign.

The function and name organizer dates back to the Social Democratic party. Messrs. Evinger, Thorndyke, Oneal, Greuling and Thornton were in the field for the Social Democratic Party. Messrs. J. W. Kelly and A. S. Edwards made tours of the state in October following the unity convention.

The party is by no means nailed down on the question of organizers. Each convention sees some change made. They have had county organizers, district and State, elected by Locals, in the case of the county and district and State by the convention, but in reality any sanctioned speaker is an organizer.

The main speakers and organizers in Indiana at present are: Terre Haute, Eugene Debs, S. M. Reynolds, J. H. Hollingsworth, William Houston, James Oneal, Judson Oneal, W. W. Risher; Indianapolis, William Henry, Edward Henry, J. Zimmermann; Anderson, W. W. Farmer, Janet Fenimore Korngold, Frederick Strickland; Marion, John W. Kelley, William McKown, S. S. Condo, O. B. Hall; Valparaiso, W. E. Graham, Ira Tilton; Evansville, Edward Miller; Kokomo, Florence Wattles; Garrett, L. M. Nesmith; Muncie, Ross Brown; Montpelier, S. C. Garrison; Peru, Robert Duderstadt.

One of the most interesting ways that the party manifests itself is through its State convention. Up to 1914 the party held a convention each year, usually in February, for the purpose of naming candidates for party officers who serve one year and civil offices on election years but by a recent decision, "A State Convention shall be held bi-annually in the month of May during the years when civil officers are to be elected. Special conventions may be held at any time if decided upon by a general vote of party membership."

The exact time and the place of the convention is decided by the State committee. Indianapolis and Terre Haute have been favorite

convention cities yet it may go to any town. One was held in Kokomo and one in Marion.

The announcement for the call for the convention is sent by the State chairman to each Local about sixty days before the time of meeting. The call for February 14, 1914, read as follows:

COMRADES, GREETING:

The time is near when the comrades of Indiana must elect and send delegates to a State convention to start in the campaign of 1914. Capitalism is still here and there is nothing left for the Socialist party but continue its work till this capitalist system of government has been supplanted with an Industrial Democracy by the working class. *Therefore*, I, as State chairman of the Socialist party of Indiana, on this twenty-sixth day of December, 1913, send this call, that the party meet in convention in Indianapolis, February 14 and 15, 1914, beginning at 10 a. m. on the 14th to nominate for the various offices to be voted for at the November election 1914, and such other business as may properly come before the convention.

Yours for Industrial Freedom,

MARION WILEY,
State Chairman.³⁶

The convention meets in some obscure place where a hall may be had for a small sum. The newspapers give little or no publicity to the meeting. The city where it meets does not take on convention aspect, and decorate with flags, bunting and pictures of favorite sons. There are no crowded hotels with their all-night before caucuses and bosses dropping in now and then just for friendship sake.

The convention hall and the delegates present just as much contrast as may be seen in the convention city. The hall is not decorated; its doors are wide open to the public. The delegates are not politicians with special interests who come to represent a constituency that have not awakened to the fact that there is to be a convention until it is all over and all settled. Our forefathers were not more serious in their conventions.

The Locals are thoroughly alive from the time of the call for the convention; in fact their interest is aroused three months before the meeting, for at this time they are called upon to nominate a committee of five on the State constitution which must be elected in the manner provided for taking referendum. Each Local is allowed to send one delegate and one additional one for each twenty-five members. The members-at-large are represented in the same

³⁶ *Proceedings of the Indiana State Convention of Socialist Party.*

proportion. The delegates receive mileage and the committee on constitution receive in addition car fare and two dollars per day. Their time begins the day before the convention and ends as soon as the constitution is adopted by the convention.

The convention is called to order by the State chairman. The delegates name by ballot the temporary chairman so that it is not safe for any man to come to the convention with a ready prepared speech in his pocket, for no one can foresee who will receive the honor. His presence is not heralded by the usual scream and shout. He does not rattle the dry bones of party leaders for several reasons. His party is new and it is a party that exists upon principles and not upon leaders.

Even the credentials committee is elected so that there is no possible chance for wire pulling. The only permanent offices that hold through the convention, and these are not necessarily so, are the secretary, two tellers, and a sergeant-at-arms, but even these must be named and elected at each session by the delegates. The committees are elected in the same way as the officers. The most important committees are as follows: credentials, rules and order, platform and resolutions, grievances, auditing. The constitution committee is one of the important ones but it is now chosen by referendum.

A new chairman is elected for each session and no man need flatter himself that he is in such demand that he may be chairman for more than one session. It is a matter of education for chairman and delegate. They have made the rules so they ought to know them and if they should forget they have copies of the State constitution in their hands. Time is of no consequence, to be right is everything. The stake for which they play is not to be measured in dollars and cents in the way of patronage, but it must stand the scrutiny of the party members for all time to come.

Each delegate who wants the floor rises and shouts, "Comrade Chairman!" until some one is recognized by the chair then the one recognized must preface his remarks by announcing his name and the name of his Local. He is allowed but five minutes in which to speak and no delegate is permitted to speak twice upon the same subject until all have spoken unless the convention grants him this privilege. Frequently there are a dozen on the floor shouting for a hearing and will not be pacified until the chairman assures them that he will hear each one of them if they stay there until midnight.

The State committee has a voice but no vote in the convention. The constitution committee have a voice when the constitution is discussed but they have no vote unless they are delegates.

Instead of visits from detached missionaries who go around to tighten the wires there are calls from the members of the various committees who are obliged to sit in another room but who pull themselves away long enough to look in and see what is going on.

There is little emotionalism, almost no cheering, but a grim, deep-set determination pervading the atmosphere. When the time comes for nominating party and civil officers there is no lack of names presented. Each delegate is bent on having some one from his Local named. As many as six persons were named for some of the offices in 1914. The delegates to the State convention occupied seats in front. Vigo, Marion and Madison Locals outnumbered the rest. The rank and file sat back of the delegates. When a vote was taken *viva voce* there was much consternation lest the persons without authority to do so were voting. They were so democratic that they allowed themselves to be voted out of the right to smoke in the convention hall. They are ever mindful of their mission in behalf of their comrades.

The Locals have a right to send recommendations that they want to have considered in the convention. These are referred to the proper committees and are reported when the regular report is made. In subject-matter the convention resembles the New England town meeting. Every variety of subject is discussed from capital punishment down to private matters such as an attack on the character of some member. There is now and then a fling at the capitalist class and the capitalist laws but there lies under all a desire to better present conditions and make their work constructive rather than destructive. Collections are taken for the families of any organization known to be in want either from strikes or lack of work.³⁷ All sorts of petitions are sent to the Federal and State authorities. Their manner of work is no less interesting than delegates.

The personnel of the convention is not as might be expected, a gathering of working people. In the convention of 1914 there might be seen the lawyer, the student, the society lady, the working man and woman. The race variations were equally noticeable, white,

³⁷ The Collection Committee for Michigan miners reported \$22.75; *State Convention Proceedings*, Feb. 14, 15, 1914.

black, and what is most unusual in convention, a Navaho Indian with long hair and wearing a gorgeous red tie sat with the comrades from Valparaiso. All seemed to discuss questions of State with equal ease and interest. There were a few women delegates and while the party is fundamentally pledged to equal rights their years of heredity in which men have dominated in political matters manifested itself quite frequently and the women seemingly were forgotten.

The convention sessions are long, with intermissions at lunch time when people go to some nearby lunch room and hasten back. No one thinks of leaving the room but for a short time even when the sessions run through the night. At least two full days are given to a convention, closing on Sunday.

The final close of the convention is one rousing union of voices in singing the Marseillaise by substituting "Ye Sons of Toil" for "Ye Sons of France."

The State convention is followed up by the referendums on the civil and party officers and on the constitution. The referendum for selecting nominees for State and party offices is arranged like the Massachusetts ballot, all nominees are given in parallel columns with a square at the left side of the name in which to check the preferred name.

The referendum on the constitution gives the proposed constitution in full and leaves a space on each side of each section. The space on the left hand side is for yes and the right for no.

Enough referendums are sent to each local so that a copy may be in the hands of each member. The local tabulates the votes and sends the report to the State headquarters. It sometimes happens that there is no choice so another referendum is sent out. A limited time, usually about thirty days, is set to close all referendums.

The campaign methods are much the same as those used by any other political party. More organizers are sent into the field than at other times. A preference is shown to districts that have nominated full tickets. The national office sends out speakers to the places where they are most needed. Rallies are held. The largest ones have been in Indianapolis, Evansville, Terre Haute, Anderson, Elwood, Ft. Wayne and Richmond. Eugene Debs draws enormous crowds wherever he speaks. He challenged Mr. W. H. Taft to debate with him in Philadelphia last campaign but the president declined, owing to the fact that he was taking no speaking part in

the campaign.³⁸ Mr. Debs' work is over the United States so that it is not many of the Indiana towns that have a chance to hear him. Collections for the party are taken at their rallies instead of the usual method, barbecue and burgoo feasts.

They follow the regular campaign style of putting in the windows the pictures of favorite candidates. Pictures are worn on neckties, flaunted from pennants or they may be used on buttons. Party emblems are used on buttons and pennants, also tie clips, and cuff buttons. The red flag badge may be the favorite of some of the adherents. Probably no larger percentage of Socialists take part in these demonstrations than in the old line parties.

The real work of the party goes on all the time and few votes are gained by the red fire method. It requires the educational one to win converts. When a Socialist is once enrolled he is not liable to compromise his vote. The results of the elections show the abiding character of the voters:

TABLE OF SOCIALIST VOTES, 1896-1912.

(The vote in 1900 includes that of the Socialist Labor and the Social Democratic tickets. The vote is for the head of the ticket.)

	1896	1898	1900	1902	1904	1906	1908	1910	1912
Adams -----		1	----	1	9	5	13	24	30
Allen -----	20	99	170	954	470	396	494	694	1,512
Bartholomew ----	2	1	16	142	98	84	59	130	196
Benton -----	1	3	7	4	1	3	15	22	30
Blackford -----		92	6	23	37	34	42	125	256
Boone -----	1	3	10	4	19	14	11	29	90
Brown -----			1	----	7	5	5	9	12
Carroll -----	1	----	----	6	14	34	68	58	83
Cass -----	1	29	24	45	52	22	38	91	187
Clark -----	6	11	20	42	133	46	68	113	137
Clay -----	8	69	182	308	432	172	499	463	697
Clinton -----		6	1	30	56	47	78	102	219
Crawford -----		----	----	----	6	16	82	80	128
Daviess -----		34	17	95	148	99	204	193	327
Dearborn -----	1	6	41	126	62	20	41	62	146
Decatur -----	4	4	12	16	41	33	39	40	88
DeKalb -----		4	6	96	154	69	63	87	457
Delaware -----	17	163	149	58	362	107	316	824	1,199
Dubois -----		4	1	4	5	4	58	83	106
Elkhart -----	14	31	89	216	472	315	400	471	856
Fayette -----		2	2	65	107	90	81	101	231
Floyd -----	7	16	12	66	235	158	226	241	341
Fountain -----		15	6	15	14	35	45	72	140
Franklin -----	2	5	2	2	3	11	7	2	30
Fulton -----		1	----	9	17	22	13	44	70
Gibson -----	1	5	5	33	91	46	86	125	295

³⁸ *Appeal to Reason*, Oct. 5, 1912.

	1896	1898	1900	1902	1904	1906	1908	1910	1912
Grant -----	9	145	337	158	231	167	339	638	1,323
Greene -----	---	7	86	180	377	377	930	812	1,203
Hamilton -----	1	4	10	10	16	27	24	27	90
Hancock -----	---	9	3	1	7	13	22	93	133
Harrison -----	---	3	4	27	44	31	67	77	118
Hendricks -----	---	1	1	1	5	6	---	17	48
Henry -----	2	5	9	12	17	31	61	156	437
Howard -----	---	33	51	77	211	211	255	897	1,107
Huntington -----	2	---	50	105	207	198	241	221	252
Jackson -----	---	12	2	9	15	12	30	117	175
Jasper -----	2	3	3	4	4	4	7	9	14
Jay -----	---	8	4	11	9	16	53	97	218
Jefferson -----	---	15	26	24	50	44	97	89	137
Jennings -----	---	2	1	---	5	8	21	34	81
Johnson -----	1	2	7	11	10	8	9	28	49
Knox -----	2	5	4	37	200	120	375	470	892
Kosciusko -----	---	---	7	2	15	13	54	94	210
La Grange -----	---	1	---	5	13	13	10	11	22
Lake -----	4	32	25	109	386	156	303	576	1,182
Laporte -----	4	10	42	57	89	87	103	170	397
Lawrence -----	---	1	6	5	58	74	119	366	398
Madison -----	3	102	185	328	882	692	894	1,789	1,947
Marion -----	103	265	281	871	1,067	751	1,075	2,330	5,268
Marshall -----	2	3	2	14	32	30	55	51	164
Martin -----	1	2	---	---	9	2	11	7	22
Miami -----	1	8	22	52	157	112	187	261	422
Monroe -----	---	---	3	1	6	12	14	24	84
Montgomery -----	2	2	---	4	19	31	44	110	173
Morgan -----	---	4	2	---	37	28	44	78	185
Newton -----	1	2	---	---	8	6	8	10	26
Noble -----	---	---	---	23	15	18	29	47	106
Ohio -----	---	1	---	---	6	6	3	3	9
Orange -----	---	2	---	2	19	18	44	55	53
Owen -----	---	---	7	21	35	33	51	45	161
Parke -----	3	16	82	64	115	68	204	167	346
Perry -----	1	---	2	9	23	22	37	27	34
Pike -----	---	1	3	25	51	36	131	138	298
Porter -----	---	5	4	11	70	45	59	114	120
Posey -----	2	5	9	36	57	42	69	63	132
Pulaski -----	2	5	1	6	10	12	14	43	135
Putnam -----	1	2	12	23	27	28	36	50	91
Randolph -----	1	5	2	21	34	62	87	126	272
Ripley -----	---	14	19	49	52	44	76	68	163
Rush -----	---	3	---	13	90	18	13	12	77
Scott -----	---	1	1	2	3	---	3	20	18
Shelby -----	---	5	5	7	22	27	95	194	319
Spencer -----	1	1	5	10	26	14	18	18	151
Starke -----	1	1	3	56	87	30	39	31	54
Steuben -----	1	6	3	8	318	17	13	24	41
St. Joseph -----	2	36	45	107	12	236	705	958	1,235
Sullivan -----	---	8	21	51	200	99	398	419	1,045
Switzerland -----	---	---	2	3	11	12	14	16	75
Tippecanoe -----	2	---	3	22	86	68	65	99	191
Tipton -----	9	6	3	7	13	11	13	39	113
Union -----	---	4	73	---	3	14	18	18	38
Vanderburg -----	36	179	330	1,230	1,730	633	1,034	709	2,572
Vermillion -----	---	---	40	68	141	225	407	302	550
Vigo -----	8	93	353	335	814	284	690	1,017	1,862

	1896	1898	1900	1902	1904	1906	1908	1910	1912
Wabash -----	1	11	8	35	207	97	87	178	308
Warren -----					2	1	3	19	46
Warrick -----	1	3	10	79	130	81	101	68	310
Washington -----		4	2	6	7	5	12	21	61
Wayne -----	3	72	45	145	280	281	308	468	1,032
Wells -----	2	3	3	67	74	48	65	72	132
White -----		7	8	30	31	13	19	18	41
Whitley -----		3	1	22	15	9	13	19	70
Totals -----	302	1,795	21,374	7,111	12,013	7,824	13,476	19,632	36,931

The party vote is quite regular.³⁹ This is as the party wants it to be. The strength of the party is put on its principles and they do not approve of one man trying to have himself elected on account of his personal strength. The party vote is widely scattered throughout the State. The year 1912 showed the greatest gains. All counties except Montgomery, Orange and Perry gained. More Socialist votes were cast in eleven cities in 1902 than were cast in the entire State in 1900.⁴⁰ In 1900 and 1902 no votes were cast for either the Social Democratic or Socialist Parties in the following counties: Warren, Union, Jennings, Crawford, Martin, Newton and Ohio.

A comparison of election returns shows that the party must be gaining by drawing from other political parties. More votes were cast for Mr. Bryan in 1908 than were cast for Mr. Wilson and more votes were cast for Mr. Taft than were cast in 1912 for Messrs. Taft and Roosevelt together.⁴¹

In comparison with other States Indiana stood in the Socialist Party eighth in 1912, ninth in 1910, thirteenth in 1896. The Socialist party in Indiana is not only gaining in votes but it is making itself felt as a municipal force. In 1911:

For the first time in the history of the Socialist Party of Indiana the general town elections found a number of towns swept into the Socialist column in the November election. These are as follows: Staunton, electing entire ticket including Clerk, Marshal and two Trustees; Shirley, electing entire ticket including Clerk, Treasurer, Marshal and Trustee; Millersburg, entire ticket, including Clerk, Marshal, Treasurer and Trustee; Shelburn

³⁹ VOTE IN 1912—

S. M. Reynolds for governor-----	35,464
S. S. Condo, lieut.-governor-----	35,796
Reece Townsend, secretary of state -----	35,816
W. W. Farmer, treasurer-----	35,876
Ross D. Brown, presidential elector-----	36,931

⁴⁰ *The Toiler*, Terre Haute, July 11, 1902.

⁴¹ *World's Almanac* election returns, 1909-1914.—1912, Mr. Wilson, 281,890; 1908, Mr. Bryan, 338,262; 1912, Mr. Roosevelt, 162,007; Mr. Taft 151,267; 1908, Mr. Taft, 348,903.

electing Treasurer and two Trustees; Farmersburg, Marshal; Spencer, Marshall; Normal City, Trustee; Diamond, Trustee.⁴²

The next year the party made further gains. At Marion the comrades elected three councilmen and at Elwood one. Bicknell elected every candidate but one. Fairview elected its complete ticket, and the Socialist administration held over at Staunton as there was no opposition to it. The Indianapolis *News* said the Socialists won and the Democrats and Progressives lost.

At the present time Fairview and Staunton are the only towns in the State which have all their officials of the Socialist party. Marion has added another councilman. The party officials have given the most of their time and energy to the questions of education, safety, and health. The last election brought gratifying results, as it is thought that those who support the party are really in line with Socialist principles. The party *Bulletin* sent out each month from the headquarters bears the message "No Compromise, No Political Trading!" The statement issued by Mr. Debs entitled "Danger Ahead" represents the views of the party in the State.⁴³ The party must win on its principles.

The victories in the State are accompanied by its responsibilities.

These victories indicate that the Socialists of Indiana are now approaching a period of responsibility, a period when we will find ourselves carried into public office by a revolutionary working class. It is all the more necessary, therefore, that our electoral campaigns shall be waged on the clearest presentation of the issue between the working class and its exploiters, and that extra precaution should be taken in nominating our candidates.⁴⁴

The party is gaining ground in converting the union men to party principles. Forty per cent. of the union men of the State have endorsed the Socialist principles, according to the report of the State secretary, William Henry.

Now and then the party tries some Socialistic experiment with fairly good results. Wabash has a coal yard owned and managed by Socialists. It has proved a success for buyers and consumers from the first.

One of the party achievements that does not show on the surface is that of providing literature and reading rooms where laboring

⁴² *Annual Report of State Sec.-Treas. of Socialist Party of Indiana*, Jan. 1, 1911, to Dec. 31, 1911.

⁴³ Walling, *Socialism As It Is*, p. 176.

⁴⁴ *Annual Rep. of Sec.-Treas. of Soc. Party of Ind.*, 1911.

men may get together to read or to talk over their problems of special interest. They are not so liable to come under the control of the political boss and adopt plans which will bring him gain today, tomorrow or next day, but they are content to sit down and discuss economic questions from an ethical standpoint.

While it is too much to claim that the party prevents crime in its present state, the criminal class do not care for the party. Mr. R. T. Ely says of the criminal, "He adheres to a party which is able to help him at once. He desires what is called in American politics a pull."⁴⁵ The chaplain of Indiana State Prison said, "In all my personal contact with individual prisoners for eight years I do not think I have found ten who belonged to the Socialist party."⁴⁶

Ministers throughout the State in general, while not coming out and out for Socialism, recognize the class struggle. College professors treat the subject seriously.

Socialists are well united and grounded on the fundamental principles but they find enough difference in methods of work to form controversies that appear to be a serious menace to the ultimate aim of the party. Foremost in the conflict may be found The Industrial Workers of the World, who were organized in 1905 with a constitution and a division into units called locals but they differ from the Socialists in the collective ownership, management and distribution of the means of life, but they do not believe in political action but direct. By direct action they do not mean violence but they will achieve their purpose by simply refusing to deliver coal, bread, clothing, etc.

They have a library in Indianapolis, of one thousand volumes on Socialist literature. Their cards announce: Visit the Free Socialist Library and Reading Room, 31 Mansur Building, Alabama and Washington streets. Many of the I. W. W's belong to the regular Socialist party. In 1908 there were sufficient numbers of them in the State convention to dominate it. No platform was made, the faction in control claimed that all the platform that was needed could be put upon a button in these words: "We want the earth now." The regular campaign speakers used the old platform as a basis for their remarks and ignored the "direct actionists" and gradually the party came into its own in the next convention and

⁴⁵ Richard T. Ely, *Socialism and Social Reform*, pp. 41-2.

⁴⁶ Letter from L. L. Kiplinger, July 20, 1914.

the Industrial Workers of the World have little influence in the movement.

A controversy which seems likely to divide the party has arisen in Anderson. One faction known as the Critchley-McDonald-Hunter, organized as Socialists, renounced the dues-paying system of the party as a violation of the Corrupt Practices Act, held a convention for the nomination of municipal offices to which all persons in sympathy with reform in Anderson were invited to take part, claiming that the "dues-paying" party is in the minority and does not represent the Socialist vote. They nominated Mr. Critchley for Mayor. He had never belonged to the Red-card Socialist party. This faction captured the *Anderson Critic*, a supposed Socialist paper.⁴⁷ They had the support of some of the ministers. They also succeeded in securing the recognition of the election commissioners of the city so that the local had to go on the ballot in the city election under another party name and party emblem.⁴⁸ The local protested for the rights and secured an attorney to represent them in the court but they were not sustained. The national office sent Mr. Carl D. Thompson to the scene of conflict, October 13, 1913. He spent nearly a week in hearing the testimony on both sides and after going over the evidence submitted vindicated the local. The State convention sustained the local and refused to seat any delegate from the faction.

The Grievance Committee reported at the State convention February 14, 15, 1914, that Ira Tilton of Valparaiso Local was guilty of charges of slander and anarchy against a member of the party. The convention sustained the committee after hearing the evidence on both sides and recommended that Valparaiso Local expel said member. The local refused to do this and he has since been nominated for Congress from his district. The State organization can not expel an individual but it can expel a local or a district, so the district is now under the ban.

Mr. Debs thinks that these differences of opinion are disciplinary and tests of mettle and will eventually result in good for the strength of the party.

When Indiana came into the Union it was preeminently an agricultural State. When its present constitution was adopted in 1851 sixty-four per cent. of the people were engaged in farming

⁴⁷ *Indiana Socialist Bulletin*, December 1912.

⁴⁸ *Annual Report of the Secretary-Treasurer*, 1913.

but with the opening of the coal fields and the discovery of gas and oil, conditions have changed rapidly.

The coal fields are centers for workmen grouped either in the county seats or in villages made up of miners. The Socialist party finds this region its most fertile soil. The miners are almost all foreigners, among which Germans and Jews predominate.

Of the cities employing the greatest number of wage earners Indianapolis made the greatest gain for 1904 to 1909, increasing 21.3%. The other cities in rank are South Bend, Ft. Wayne, Evansville and Terre Haute. These manufacturing cities are centers for Socialist organizations.

Socialism does not appeal to the prosperous farmer living in river bottoms or near the great manufacturing centers where he finds a ready market but in the southern part of the State where the soil is naturally not very fertile and conditions in general not favorable there is much discontent with existing affairs and this finds a chance for expression in the Socialist party. Propaganda first and organization afterward has always been the plan of the Socialists.

Before the battles of freedom there have always appeared the writers, the orators, the artists, and the singers. Rousseau defying "Logic of Liberty," Tom Paine, calling for freedom from the king; and Patrick Henry, as large as his times, fearlessly announcing new doctrines to take the place of decadent ideals; Lincoln and others pleading for the chattel slave, and in our time, multiplying voices crying aloud for complete freedom from wage slavery, subtlest and meanest of all forms of human slavery.

Chief among the editors stands Julius A. Wayland, born in Versailles, Indiana, in 1854. His father died when he was three months old. He was intimately acquainted with poverty but he gradually rose from "devil" to editor, removed to Pueblo, Colorado, where he prospered and through investments in real estate he found himself a rich man.

The tide turned in 1890, as he says:

I accidentally fell into a conversation about some strike on a railroad with Mr. Bradfield, an English shoemaker, who had a little shop on Union Avenue, and he gave me a pamphlet to read on the subject of the economic or Socialist view point. To be brief, he landed me good and hard. I saw a new light and found what I never before knew existed. I went into the financial study so thoroughly that the result was, I closed up my real

estate business and devoted my whole energies to the work of trying to get my neighbors to see truths as I ha dlearned them.⁴⁹

This conviction led him to return to newspaper business and he removed to his native State and selected Greensburg, Indiana, for his enterprise because of its being near the center of population in the United States. He had plenty of money to run a paper for several years even if the subscribers were not forthcoming. His paper called the *Coming Nation* was the first propaganda Socialist paper to be published wholly in the interests of the party. The subscription list ran up to 65,000, but the unexpected happened. His paper circulated chiefly in California and among the Populists of the West and his being near the center of population was of no avail. The proceeds of the paper were to be used for founding a colony, which purpose was carried out in Ruskin, Tenn., but unsuccessfully, so he removed to Girard and started the *Appeal to Reason*, which he successfully edited until his death, November 10, 1912. After nearly two years it seems that the vow that was made by the acting editor—namely: "*The Appeal* will continue its work until the dreams of our departed comrade have been realized"—may come true, for it is still the widest circulated of any Socialist paper.⁵⁰ Mr. Wayland said, "Our lives are but atoms—remember millions are to follow us. What we now enjoy others gave their lives for. They did not shirk because they did not realize results."⁵¹

The newspaper as a means of State-party influence has not met with much success. Efforts were made when the party was organized to publish a State paper but did not receive sufficient approval to warrant its publication.⁵² Some fear that if there is a recognized official organ that there would be danger of capitalist control. *The Toiler*, published in Terre Haute by the Social Democratic party, came out for Socialism after the Unity Convention and published the party news until about 1905, when *The Socialist* published in Evansville became the semi-official organ. An attempt to make *The Register* published in Indianapolis the party paper resulted in the paper's being endorsed for news.⁵³ Papers are published throughout the State with no thought of making them permanent but of strengthening the party by spreading the party

⁴⁹ *Leaves of Life*, J. A. Wayland, 24.

⁵⁰ *The Appeal to Reason*, November 12, 1912.

⁵¹ *Leaves of Life*, J. A. Wayland, 67.

⁵² *The Toiler*, Terre Haute, 1901, Sept. 20.

⁵³ *Convention Report of 1905*, Exhibit III.

principles and making new members. Mr. Debs and Mr. Reynolds as well as other writers in the party are willing contributors of these papers.

The *Social Advance*, published in Terre Haute by an editorial committee composed of James Oneal, M. F. Hatfield, A. G. Slemmons, James Heenen and S. M. Reynolds, appeared on February 11, 1911, and lasted until May 3, 1912. The ownership and control was vested in Local Vigo County. It distributed 15,000 copies in Terre Haute and West Terre Haute. It came to its end through lack of funds.

A new enterprise in the newspaper business started in the summer of 1910. A Socialist toured western Ohio and eastern Indiana in the interest of the Finley Publishing Company of Finley, O. The Socialists in that city had purchased a complete printing outfit and were endeavoring to establish a chain of Socialist newspapers in the above mentioned district. Each Socialist Local was solicited to take twenty shares at \$10 per share. This entitled them to a paper. The whole chain of papers was printed alike, leaving from two to four columns for Local's news, which was to be filled in by the organization supporting it. The papers were to be locally named. Many Locals took stock in the concern which seemed in a fair way to solve the problem when the flood washed away the printing establishment in Finley.

Marion has been the most active town in the State in late years in trying to run a paper. It was in the Finley affair and called the local paper *Freedom's Banner*, but the proposition was soon abandoned. Their next attempt was *The Marion Socialist*, which was printed occasionally when the Socialists felt that they had something to say of more than ordinary importance. The Socialists pledged to distribute 5,000 copies and on the strength of this pledge sufficient money was received from advertisements to pay the printer. About eight copies of the paper were published.

The *Economic Intelligencer* sprang up as a result of the tremendous vote cast by the party in 1912 in Grant county. After the election a temporary organization was formed looking towards the establishment of a company for the publishing of a Socialist and Trade Union paper in Marion. The company was incorporated under the laws of the State with an authorized capital stock of \$10,000. The paper lasted from May 8, 1913, to December of the same year, when it went into the hands of a receiver. All the

affairs were adjusted satisfactorily by April of 1914 and the company again came into the control of the paper. The management was changed when the receiver was released and a new management was appointed and is now publishing the same paper under a new name, the *Labor Sentinel*, with Wilbur Sheron as editor and publisher.

The history of the Socialist papers in Marion is typical of what is going on in all the largest towns in the State. Anderson has had at three different times small papers in the field, but hardly dignified enough to be called newspapers. One of these papers was called *The Issue* and its circulation was about four thousand per week, by free distribution. It was used in campaigns, mostly, but was kept going through the winter of 1910-11. "The devotion of our members who voluntarily tramped through the snows of an unusually severe winter to deliver the paper from house to house was merely another instance of the indomitable spirit which has kept the working class press alive in the face of almost insurmountable obstacles."

There is a plan to revive *The Issue* and make it a permanent paper. They have a society called "The Workers' Publishing Society," which is engaged at present in collecting the necessary funds to enable them to purchase the equipment. The paper will be owned by the society, and the work of editing, printing, etc., will be performed entirely by volunteer labor at first. They hope to have the paper ready for propaganda in the fall elections.

Indianapolis has published the *Indiana Socialist* and the *Indianapolis Register*. The last named paper started in May, 1907, and ran four years. It was published from the headquarters of Marion county Local by J. Frank Essex, managing editor. South Bend Socialists published for a short time the *Free Press*. The *Social Educator*, printed by Ira C. Tilton at his home in Valparaiso since October, 1911, is a monthly paper, the object of which is to emphasize equally industrial and economic organization and political action."⁵⁴ This paper is privately owned,

The *Social Kingdom*, published at South Bend in the interests of Christian Socialism in the Episcopalian Church, is not strictly Socialist but with Socialistic tendencies.

The *American Socialist*, published under the control of the National Office, hopes to solve the newspaper problem for the State

⁵⁴ *The Social Educator*, February, 1914.

by allowing the party a limited space in the paper for State news upon condition that a certain number of subscribers may be secured in the State.

The newspaper work of the party is a reminder of that of the Abolitionists in methods and crudeness of machinery. An editor and one helper running a hand printing press often constitute the office force. The papers are distributed by members of the party after their day's work is done, often tramping through snow to perform this labor of love but thoroughly intelligent on the subjects of the struggles of the working class and not loath to stop and discuss them when an interested listener is found.

It is estimated that sixty per cent. of the converts to Socialism have been won by the printed word. The National Office maintains a literature department and publishes books that will have a propaganda influence rather than commercial. The copyright is held by the party. It does not follow that all books must be published by this office, for an author is at liberty to have his work done in any manner that he chooses.

Indiana has an unusually large number of writers on Socialism that deserve special mention. Robert Wiles Hunter, born in Terre Haute in 1874, has international reputation for work in Social problems in Chicago, London and New York. Some of his best books on Socialism are as follows: *Violence and the Labor Movement*, *Poverty*, *The Crisis*, and *Socialists at Work*. The last named book is recommended "For those who want an accurate and fairly complete knowledge of the subject suitable for the ordinary man. It is the best single book on the practical side of Socialism, setting forth actual achievements and construction work of the party in all countries of the world."⁵⁵ *The Crisis* is a compilation of editorials written for the Chicago *Daily Socialist* on the subject of strikes. Mr. Hunter is the author of a booklet entitled *Should Socialism Be Crushed?* This is written especially for the wage worker.

William James Ghent was born in Frankfort. His main scene of activity has been New York City, where he was one of the founders of the Social Reform School and for a time president of the Rand School of Social Science. His best known books are *Our Benevolent Feudalism*, *Socialism and Success*, and *Mass and Class*. The last is considered "one of the best books on the

⁵⁵ *What to Read on Socialism*, 7.

class struggle and is recommended to those who want a complete course in the subject of Socialism."

William English Walling, a nephew of the late W. H. English, graduated from the University of Chicago in 1897 and after doing graduate work in economics and sociology established himself in the University settlement work in New York City. He writes for several popular magazines. His fame as a Socialist writer is based upon these books: *Russia's Message*, *The Larger Aspects of Socialism*, and *Socialism As It Is*.

George Davis Herron was born in Montezuma, Indiana, beginning life as a Congregationalist minister, but was soon deposed because he was not considered orthodox. He has been a voluminous writer, putting out a book every year or two. Among his best known ones are: *Why I Am a Socialist*, *From Revolution to Revolution*, and *War and Peace Under Socialism*. He is well known for his articles on Socialism, published in the *Metropolitan* a few years ago. He is now living in Florence, Italy, and is engaged in writing articles for European magazines.

The late Wallace D. Wattles of Kokomo was the author of many books principally New Thought subject. He is the author of one piece of work which is Socialistic, *The Military Ideal*. This was written in his usual straight-out-of-the-heart style, published in the *Chicago Daily Socialist*, and except in the minds of Socialists, was almost forgotten until the war agitation began along the Mexican border. An anti-war leaflet was circulated containing *The Military Ideal* but credited to Jack London.

James Oneal, born and reared in Terre Haute, was one of the charter members of the party and the first State secretary. Mr. Oneal was for two years in New York working upon a weekly paper, but the greater part of his activity has been in his native State. He is the author of *The Workers in American History*, *Militant Socialism*, and *A History of All Political Parties and Their Relation to the Working Class*.

Living near Griffith, Indiana, is Mr. Bruce Calvert, a fairly obscure man in his own State, but he was discovered by the board of education in New York City last year and secured to lecture in the public schools. While Mr. Calvert is not a Socialist writer he is a member of the party and his *Rational Education*, and *Open Road* are full of Socialist theory—e. g.: "He who works only because compelled to do so for his food and shelter and he who

takes no part in the world's work because he is physically beyond the necessity for it are alike miserable unfortunates."⁵⁶

Robert Alexander Wason, living in Delphi, Indiana, is a Socialist and author of several novels and plays. His most characteristically Socialist writing is *Wolf—A Fable with a Purpose*, illustrated by G. Weiser, a house-painter of Delphi. Mr. Wason claims the illustrations are better than in any other of his books. In *The Steering Wheel*, published by Bobbs-Merrill, there is some humor based on genuine Socialism but the author had to resort to farce in an attempt to make it clear to non-Socialistic readers.

Stephen Marion Reynolds of Terre Haute was a member of the Social Democratic party and its State treasurer when the Socialist party was organized. He is at present the party's candidate for United States senator. In 1912 he was the candidate for governor. "Where the fight is thickest there you will find Steve, with his genial smile and rare good humor."⁵⁷ His claims to be listed with the Indiana authors rests upon his book, *Eugene V. Debs, His Life, Writings and Speeches*.

Foremost among the writers and speakers is Eugene V. Debs, born in Terre Haute, November 5, 1855. James Whitcomb Riley said, "God was feeling mighty good when he created 'Gene Debs and he didn't have anything else to do all day." Mr. Debs was a member of a large family. He quit school and went to work at the age of fifteen and became a locomotive engineer. He says of this period, "I mastered the curriculum and graduated with the degree D. D., not as the lexicons interpret the letters, Doctor of Divinity, but the better signification, Do and Dare."⁵⁸ It was in the capacity of a railroader that Mr. Debs became interested in the problem of the working people. "Separate him from the revolutionary working class movement and you lose Eugene V. Debs. He is bone of its bone, flesh of its flesh. His very life, his hopes and aims, are interwoven into the very mesh of the labor movement."⁵⁹ He joined the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and became the secretary and treasurer. He organized the American Railway Union in 1894. This was the first organization which took in all laborers. He arbitrated the Great Northern strike and received this commendation from President Hill, "You have fought a good fight and I

⁵⁶ *The Open Road*, 23.

⁵⁷ *Appeal to Reason*, Nov. 12, 1912.

⁵⁸ *Eugene V. Debs, His Letters, Writings and Speeches*.

⁵⁹ Pamphlet by Charles H. Kerr.

respect you."⁶⁰ He was not so fortunate in helping to conduct the strike for the Pullman employees and their sympathizers. President Cleveland intervened and with the Federal troops and courts put an end to the strike. Mr. Debs and his associates were put in Woodstock Jail for six months for contempt of court. Mr. Debs while in Woodstock read books on Socialism with the result that he came to the conclusion that political action was the best solution of the labor problem. His imprisonment added fuel to the flame of dissatisfaction among the working classes. He has a large personal following at home and over the entire United States. He is the only man of any party to be nominated for President four times in succession. His home is located on North Eighth street in Terre Haute. The house is a comfortable two-story frame one. Those who think that a leader of the laboring people should not live in surroundings better than their own should be reminded that Mr. Debs owns but one piece of property and that this is but a pittance in comparison with what he has given away, and that he resigned from a position that was paying him four thousand a year and that he has paid the last bit of a debt of forty thousand dollars deficit left when the A. R. U. disbanded. The debt was simply a moral obligation. He has written scores of pamphlets, some have been extended to book size. Some of his best known works are: *The American Movement*, *Liberty*, *Industrial Unionism*, *Unionism and Socialism*, *Danger Ahead*, *Revolutionary Unionism*, *The Growth of Socialism*, *The Socialist Party and the Working Class*, and *Prison Labor*.

Every one in Terre Haute from the street waif to the college president knows Mr. Debs and loves to talk to him and about him. There are few who cannot relate some kindness received at his hand. Mr. Riley expresses the esteem in which he is held in his poem "Terre Haute":

And there's Gene Debs—a man 'et stands
 And jest holds out his two hands;
 As warm a heart as ever beat
 Betwixt here and the Judgment Seat.

He was given an ovation when he returned from his campaign in November of 1912. The Terre Haute *Tribune* said the following:

It is entirely apropos that a congratulatory word be expressed to E. V. Debs. Here in Terre Haute we admire the man. The outside world is

⁶⁰ *Pierson's Magazine*, August 12, 1912. "The Socialist Candidates."

impressed with the tremendous following which has gathered about him in the cause he represents. The demonstration here Monday night, when men, women and children marched in procession to the number of thousands and then constituted a tremendous political meeting, told in a measure the esteem of the people whose political belief he represents. May Mr. Debs long survive to direct his flock.

Who Was Our Sieur de Vincennes?

JACOB P. DUNN, Controller of Indianapolis

MOST of the puzzles in Indiana history have been very satisfactorily solved, but there remains one that has baffled the most diligent students of the United States and Canada—Who was the Sieur de Vincennes who established our ancient post on the Wabash? In the seventeenth century, the kings of France established an inferior order of nobility in Canada, and among the seigneuries or fiefs then established was that of Vincennes, which was granted to Francois Bissot, in 1672. This estate is situated on the south side of the St. Lawrence river below Quebec, opposite the eastern end of the Isle of Orleans.

In propriety nobody could be called Sieur de Vincennes except a holder of this fief, for there was no other estate of this name in Canada or France. After the death of Francois Bissot, his son Jean Baptiste Bissot succeeded to the title. That he was still Sieur de Vincennes on July 9, 1717, has been conclusively demonstrated by Mr. Edmond Mallet, of Washington, the author of the most extensive research on this subject. (*Ind. Hist. Soc. Pubs.*, Vol. 3, No. 2.) It is therefore practically certain that he was the man of whom De Vaudreuil wrote, on Oct. 28, 1719: "I learn from the last letters that have arrived from the Miamis, that Sieur de Vincennes having died in their village, these Indians had resolved not to move to the River St. Joseph." (*N. Y. Col. Docs.* Vol. 9, p. 894.) That this village was Kikakon (later corrupted to Ke-ki-un-gi—site of Ft. Wayne) is established by the fact that in 1749, Captain Celeron appealed to La Demoiselle's Miamis, who had deserted the French for the English, to return to Kikakon, "the place where repose the bones of your fathers, and those of Sieur de Vincennes, whom you loved so well, and who always governed you so that everything was well." (*Margry*, Vol. 6, p. 718.)

No record has been found in Canada of any succession to the fief of Vincennes after 1719, until 1749, when it passed to Joseph

Roy, by judicial decree. (*Acte de Foy et Homage*, Vol. 4, p. 348.) But from at least as early as 1722 to 1736, when he was killed in battle with the Chickasaws, there was a man in the French service universally known, in all official and other correspondence, as *Sieur de Vincennes*, and this man was the founder of our Indiana post. The local clues to his identity were practically exhausted by Judge John Law in his history of Vincennes in the following passages:

Francois Morgan de Vinsenne ("Vinsenne," for so he spelled his name) was an officer in the service of the King of France, and served in Canada probably as early as 1720, in the regiment "de Carignan." At any rate, as we are informed, he was engaged in some service with another officer on the lakes towards Sault St. Marie, for the Governor of Canada, M. de Vaudreuil, in 1725. At what time he took possession here is not exactly known, probably somewhere about the year 1732. There is nothing on our records to show, but an act of sale made by him and Madame Vinsenne, the daughter of Monsieur Philip Longprie of Kaskaskia, and recorded there. The act of sale, dated 5th January, 1735, styles him "an officer of the troops of the King," and "commandant au poste du Ouabache;" the same deed expressing that Madame Vinsenne was absent at the Post. Her signature being necessary to the deed, she sent her mark, or cross, which is testified to as hers, "X the mark of Madame Vinsenne," and showing that the good lady was not very far advanced in the rudiments, though her husband was commandant, and her father the wealthiest citizen of Kaskaskia. The will of Monsieur Longprie, his father-in-law, dated the 10th of March, 1735, gives to him, among other things, 408 lbs. of pork, which he wishes "kept safe until the arrival of Mons. Vinsenne," who was then at the Post. There are other documents there signed by him as a witness, in 1733-4; among them one of a receipt for 100 pistoles, received from his father-in-law, on his marriage. From all these proofs, I think it evident that he was here previous to 1733, and left with his command, on an expedition against the Chickasaws, in 1736, by orders from his superior officer at New Orleans. On looking at the register of the Catholic church, it will be found that the change of name from Vinsenne to Vincennes, its present appellation, was made as early as 1749. Why or wherefore I do not know. I wish the original orthography had been observed, and the name spelled after its founder, with the "s" instead of the "c," as it should be.

A few weeks ago, in view of the centennial interest in Indiana history, I wrote to Mr. Arthur Doughty, Dominion Archivist, at Ottawa, and inquired whether recent research had unearthed anything farther as to the identity of our *Sieur de Vincennes*. He courteously forwarded to me the following document, under date of January 17, 1916:

MEMORANDA CONCERNING THE SIEUR DE VINCENNES IN ANSWER TO MR. J. P. DUNN'S LETTER OF THE 4th DECEMBER, 1915

1. Lettre du Conseil de Marine à Messrs. Beauharnois et Dupuy du 14 Mai 1726: "Les 6 Enseignes en second ont été accordées aux Srs. Desgley, Lorimier, de Vincennes, Mouchy, d'Hocquincourt, Delage et Malespine."—Série B, Vol. 42, partie 2, p. 376). Registres Poste de Vincennes, 1749-1786.

2. Copie d'une lettre écrite par M. de Vaudreuil à M. de Boisbrillant de Montreal le 17 Aoult, 1724: "Je suis bien aise de l'avancement des Srs. Sr. de Vincennes de mon gouvernement et que vous ayés entrepris de lui faire quitter un poste ou il est très nécessaire par le crédit qu'il a chés les nations sauvages de ce poste que vous scavés ne dependre en aucune façon du gouvernement du Mississipy. Je serois très fâché destre obligé d'en porter mes plaintes a la cour, ce que je feray cependant si on continue à l'en detacher. Je me flatte Monsieur que vous y ferés attention et que vous reflexibirés sur les inconvenances qui en pourroient arriver. J'ai ecript l'année dernière pour l'avancement du Sr. de Vincennes, J'espère que la Cour aura fait attention à mes representations et qu'il aura de l'employ cette année."—(Série F. Vol. 56, p. 147.)

3. Messrs. Beauharnois et Hocquart au Ministre, 15 Oct. 1730: "Les Vinatanous (Ouitanons) ont esté emmenés dans le Gouvernement de la Louisaine par le Sr. de Vincennes."—(Séries F, Vol. 52, p. 27.)

4. Liste des Officiers qui servent dans les Compagnies en Canada, avec l'extrait des troupes qui les composent, 1729: "Enseigne en second Vincennes. Fait à Quebec le 15 Oct. 1729. Silly."—(Série F, Vol. 51, p. 237 bis).

5. Messrs de Beauharnois et Hocquart, 12 Oct. 1732: "Le Sr. de Vincennes qui est aux Ousatanous a esté informé des dernieres conditions faites pour le transport des boeufs illinois au Canada et a ecrit a Mr. de Beauharnois que si Sa Majesté lui accorderoit la mesme gratification qu'au Sr. Gatineau, c'est-a-dire 1000 livres, il parviendroit à en envoyer de vivants en Canada; comme elles ne sont que conditionnelles nous lui avons repondu qu'il serait traité comme l'auroit esté le Sr. Gatineau."—(Série F, Vol. 57, p. 73.)

6. Mémoire sur les Sauvages du Canada: "Au surplus Mrs. de Beauharnois et Hocquart agiront de concert autant que l'éloignement le peut permettre avec Mr. Perier et Salmon sur tout ce qui pourra procurer l'avantage des colonies. Ils ont déjà commencé à se mettre en relation avec eux et M. de Beauharnois a écrit en conséquence au Sr. de Vincennes qui commande aux Ouitanons et lui à recommandé de donner toute son attention pour rompre les mesures que les Anglois pourroient prendre pour empecher le commerce entre les deux colonies et de disposer ces Sauvages a second M. Périer, &c."—(Série F, Vol. 58, p. 129).

7. *Alphabet Laffillard*, Vol. II, p. 319: "VINCENNES—Enseigne en second Canada 23 Avril 1726; Lt. reformé Canada 1 Avril 1733."

"VINCENNES—Enseigne reformé Louisiane 20 Mai 1722; Lieut. reformé Louisiane 19 Xbre 1722; Confirmé Louisiane 4 Avril 1730; Commandant aux Ouabaches; Tué aux Ouabaches 25 Mars 1736; Remplacé aux Ouabaches 15 Sbre 1736."

8. Description et Historique de la Louisiane, 1680-1755, Moreau St. Mery. (Série B³, Vol. 24, p. 452): "1739. Relation que fait le Sr. Drouet de Richarville de l'engagement que M. D'Artaguette eut avec les Chicachas au mois de Mars 1736, par la voie du fort St. Frederic. Il rapporte qu'en cette circonstance trois de ces frères furent tués, que lui-même reçut 2 coups de feu, au bras gauche et au bas ventre, et un coup de flèche au poignet, qu'il fut pris les armes à la main par 3 Chicachas et amené au village avec 22 Français dont 20 ont été brûlés, entr'autres: le Père Sénat, Jésuite, M. M. Dartaguette, de Vincennes, de Coulanges, de St. Ange fils, Du Tisné, D'Esgly, de Tonty le Cadet. Ces messieurs furent brûlés avec le Père Sénat le jour même de l'action depuis 3 heures de l'après-midi jusqu'à minuit. Les autres Français brûlés étaient des Officiers et miliciens. Le Sr. de Courselas ou Coustillas, officier, brûlé 3 jours après, au grand village avec un iroquois du Sault St. Louis; le Sr. de Courselas avait été nommé à la garde des poudres avec 35 hommes, S'étant égaré il se rendit au village des Chicachas sans savoir où il allait. N'a pu savoir ce que sont devenus les 35 Français qui étaient avec lui. Fut conduit dans la cabane du chef du village de Joutalla où il a été gardé à vue pendant 6 mois par les jeunes gens, après quoi il a vécu en pleine liberté et a chassé avec les Chicachas."

Translation of Above

1. Letter of the Council of Marine to Messrs. Beauharnois and Dupuy, May 14, 1726: "The six positions of Enseigne en second have been accorded to Sieurs Desgley, Lorimier, de Vincennes, Mouchy, d'Hocquincourt, Delage and Malespine."

2. Copy of a letter written by M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Boisbriant, of Montreal, Aug. 17, 1724: "I am well pleased at the advancement of the Srs. St. Ange, father and son, but I am surprised that you should think of detaching Sieur de Vincennes from my jurisdiction, and that you have agreed to have him quit a post when he is most necessary on account of the credit he has with the Indians of this post, which, as you know, does not depend in any way on the government of Mississippi. I should be very sorry to carry my complaints to the court, which I shall do, nevertheless, if he is detached. I flatter myself, Monsieur, that you will give heed, and that you will reflect on the inconvenience which might arise. I wrote last year for the advancement of Sieur de Vincennes. I hope that the Court has given attention to my representations and that he will have the position this year."

3. [Report of] Messrs. Beauharnois and Hocquart to the Minister, October 15, 1730: "The Oulatanons have been led away into the jurisdiction of Louisiana by Sieur de Vincennes."

4. List of the officers who serve in the companies in Canada, with

an abstract of the troops that compose them, 1729: "Second Ensign, Vincennes. Made at Quebec, Oct. 15, 1729."

5. [Report of] Messrs. Beauharnois and Hocquart, Oct. 12, 1733: "Sieur de Vincennes, who is at the Oulatanons, has been informed of the last conditions made for the transport of Illinois cattle to Canada, and has written to M. Beauharnois that if His Majesty will accord him the same allowance as to Sieur Gatineau, that is to say 1,000 livres, he will succeed in sending live cattle to Canada; as it is only conditional we have replied to him that he will be treated as Sieur Gatineau was."

6. Memoir on the Indians of Canada: "In addition, Messrs. Beauharnois and Hocquart will act in concert, so far as their separation permits, with Messrs. Perier and Salmon on all that can promote the advantage of the colonies. They have already commenced to put themselves in relation with them, and in consequence M. Beauharnois has written to Sieur de Vincennes who commands at the Oulatanons, and has recommended him to give all his attention to foil the measures which the English may be able to take to impede the commerce between the two colonies, and to direct his Indians to second M. Perier."

7. *Alphabet Laffillard*, Vol. II. p. 319: "VINCENNES—Second Ensign, Canada, April 23, 1726; Half-pay Lieutenant. Canada, April 1, 1833."

"VINCENNES—Half-pay Ensign, Louisiana, May 20, 1722; half-pay Lieutenant, Louisiana, Dec. 19, 1877; Confirmed, Louisiana, April 4, 1730; Commandant at Ouabaches, (i. e. Wabash Indians); killed March 25, 1736; replaced October 15, 1736."

8. *Description and History of Louisiana*, 1680-1755, Moreau St. Mery: "1739. Relation made by Sieur Drouet de Richardville of the engagement which M. de Artaguette had with the Chickasaws in the month of March, 1736, on the way to Fort St. Frederic. He reports that in this engagement three of his brothers were killed; that he himself received two gunshot wounds, one in the left arm and one at the base of the stomach, and an arrow wound in his wrist; that he was taken arms in hand by three Chickasaws and brought to a village with 22 French, of whom 20 were burned at the stake, among others: Father Senat, Jesuit; Messrs. d'Artaguette, de Vincennes, de Coulanges, de St. Ange fils, Du Tisne, d'Esgly, de Tonty the younger. These gentlemen were burned with Father Senat on the day of the fight, from 3 o'clock in the afternoon to midnight. The other officers who were burned were officers and militiamen. Sieur Courselas, or Coustillas, officer, was burned three days later at the large village, with an Iroquois from the Sault St. Louis; Sieur Courselas had been detailed with 35 men to guard the ammunition. Being misled he came to the village of the Chickasaws without knowing where he was going. He was not able to learn what became of the 35 Frenchmen who were with Courselas. He was conducted to the cabin of the chief of the village of Joutalla, where he was guarded for six months by the young men, after which he was given full liberty, and hunted with the Chickasaws."

It seems certain to me that the two extracts from the *Alphabet Laffillard*, title "Vincennes," refer to the same man. The

second one unquestionably refers to the founder of our post; but it is equally certain that he was an officer in both Canada and Louisiana at the same time. This is evident from several documents, but perhaps the letter of the Louisiana Company to Perier, of September 30, 1726, is most explicit. I quote: "The Company has ordered the establishment of a post on the river Ouabache, and has requested M. the Governor of Canada, on his part, to direct Sieur de Vincennes, who commands at the home of the Ouyatanons-Miamis, established towards the head of the Ouabache, to come to an understanding with the commandant of the new post to bring this nation nearer. M. de Boisbriant writes that he thinks it necessary to give command of it to M. de Vincennes, who is already a half-pay lieutenant of the Louisiana infantry, and who can do more with the Miamis than anyone else. To induce Sieur de Vincennes to attach himself to the colony of Louisiana, M. Perier will advise him that he has obtained for him from the company an annuity of three hundred livres, which will be paid to him with his salary as half-pay lieutenant." (Margry, Vol. 6, pp. 659-60.)

It strikes me that there is an important lead in the statement of the Abbe Tanguay to Mr. Mallet: "I would observe, however, that it is not Francois married to Angelique Guyon—but Pierre Francois Margane, Sieur des Forests." (*Ind. Hist. Soc. Pubs.*, Vol. 3, p. 53.) I have not been able to find any trace of this Pierre Francois Margane in Tanguay's *Genealogical Dictionary*. There cannot be any question of Judge Law's statement that our Commandant wrote his name "Francois Morgan de Vinsenne." Law had no opportunity to get the name except from an actual signature.

Mr. Doughty also included with this an interesting study of the problem by M. Phileas Gagnan, of which the following is a translation:

JEAN BISSOT DE VINCENNES

The following are a few notes supplementary to those already published by our friend Edmond Mallet, of Washington, on the Canadian voyageur and explorer, who has, it is said, given his name to the capital of Indiana:

1668—The twenty-first of the month of January sixteen hundred and sixty-eight, has been baptised by me, Henry de Bernières, curé of this parish, Jean Baptiste Byssot, son of François Byssot and of Marie Couillard, his wife, born the nineteenth of the same month and year. The godfather was M. Jean Talon, Intendant for the king of this country, and the god-mother Guillemette-Marie Hébert, wife of the late Guillaume Couillard, of this parish.—H. DE BERNIERES.

1687—The 20th of October, 1687, Jean Bissot de Vincennes, son of the deceased François Bissot and of Marie Couillard, presents his request to the Sovereign Council, representing that having reached the age of twenty years, or thereabout, and being on the point of going to France for an employment, there should be accorded to him letters of privilege of maturity, which will aid him in the management of his estate.—*Judgments and Deliberations*, Vol. III, p. 189.

1694—The 25th of October, 1694 (Record Office of Chambalon), Jean Bissot, Sieur de Vincennes, living at Quebec, sells to Louis Marchand, also of Quebec, all the rights which he may have or claim in the Seigneurie of Mingan, and the unincumbered half of an estate in the Seigneurie of Lauzon, adjoining Beaumont, for the sum of 2,500 livres. This land has been granted to him, jointly with his brother Charles, by his godfather, the Intendant Talon. He signed at that time as follows:

Bissot Vincennes

1709—The 10th of July, 1709 (Record Office of Le Pallieur), Jean Baptiste Bissot, Sieur de Vincennes, living at Quebec, is at Montreal, and sells for a second time his portion of the seignery of Mingan, to François Brissonet, merchant wig-maker of Montreal.

1736—Extracts from a letter of Toussaint Loizel, found in the Record Office of Comparet, notary at Montreal:

“LA PERTUITE,

“MY DEAR BROTHER: I cannot neglect before closing to set down a word to you on the subject of the war which has been made on the Chickasaws, in which we have lost forty Frenchmen. M. D’Artaguet, commandant of the said post, has been killed with seven officers of the troops, four of militia, all men of family (who) had part in this unfortunate action. It is a mortal desolation to us poor people of Illinois to see ourselves deprived of so many brave men. I conclude, my dear brother, assuring you that nobody has more of attachment and good will.

Your dear brother,

TOUSSAIN LOIZEL.”

“At Ste. Anne, the 13th of April, 1736.

“In regard to the persons who have perished in this unhappy war, there are Messrs. De St.-Ange, the son, Coulouge, Leville, the young Duclaud, Vincenne, LaGravière with M. Belcoue and another of his brothers, and the fourth with a broken shoulder. M. de Tonty, D’Esgly and the elder Lalonde and Antoine Carrière, Louis Langlois, M. Dutilly, the son. The others are French or from Quebec, whom we do not know.”

1746—On the 24th of January, 1656, the vestry-board of the parish of Notre Dame de Quebec conceded to François Bissot, Sieur de la Rivière, a pew of six feet in length by three and one-half feet in depth in the

said church, to possess for himself and his heirs in perpetuity, in consideration of one hundred livres once paid, and the ordinary dues of said parish at each replacing. Originally this pew was below the railing and seats of the choristers; in 1729 it was the second in the middle row on the left-hand side of the altar.

At the death of Bissot, in 1678, his son-in-law, Louis Jolliet, on account of his wife, Claire François Bissot, and also, it is alleged, on account of services rendered as organist of the parish of Quebec, had the possession of this pew until his decease, in 1700 and thereafter his wife Claire, Bissot, also to her decease in 1710.

Then succeeded to the wife of Jolliet, as occupant of the pew of Bissot, her daughter Claire Jolliet, who had married Joseph de Fleury, Sieur de la Gorgendière, Seigneur D'Eschambault. The 13th of March, 1720, the vestry-board of Quebec accorded regularly the possession of the pew of Bissot to Sieur de la Gorgendière, aforesaid.

On the 5th of April, 1729, François Bissot, the son, citizen of Quebec, by the agency of Jacques Delafontaine Balcour, his son-in-law, brought action against the vestry-board of Quebec to compel it to put him in possession of the pew of his father, occupied by the Sieur de la Gorgendière, offering to pay all the expense of the replacement.

The vestry-board answered that it was not able to avoid conceding the pew in question to Sieur La Gorgendière, as having married Claire Jolliet, grand-daughter of Bissot, there being then present no other persons claiming as heirs of the late Sieur Bissot.

François Bissot, who never took the title "De Vincennes" in this procedure, replied that if he had not previously claimed the possession of his father's pew, it was because he came to this city only once a year, and that he had not been called to the hearing of the vestry-board because he would have opposed it; but that it had never taken away from him the right which accrued to him by the title of concession to the said deceased Sieur Bissot, his father. The vestry-board contested this action before the Provost, and on May 3 following judgment was rendered in favor of François Bissot, who possessed it until his death; likewise his wife also until her death in 1745.

In 1746 still another contest arose concerning the possession of this pew. Nicolas Boisseau, Secretary Judge of the King, and Chief Clerk of the Council, in his capacity of husband of Louise Bissot, and of representative of Marguerite Forestier, widow of Jean Bissot de Vincennes, his mother-in-law, claimed possession of the said pew against Jacques de la Fontaine, counsellor, who had married Charlotte Bissot, daughter and heiress of François Bissot, the son, who had continued to possess this pew since the death of his mother-in-law.

The heirs of François Bissot represented, among other things, that Sieur François Bissot, the son, was put in possession of the pew of his father only in 1729, that is to say after the death of his elder brother, the Sieur de Vincennes; and that if there was any right of primogeniture in this matter, it did not belong to the Sieur de Vincennes, who had never taken possession; moreover the wife of Sieur Boisseau well knew that the

ancestors who would have been able to contest this were dead, and that she ought not to ignore that she had a brother married with all the ceremonies of the church to an Illinois or Miami woman, who had left male children to whom the right of primogeniture belonged in preference to her.

The brief of Boisseau representing the widow Bissot de Vincennes is not present in the package of papers which has come to our hands; but one can see, from the reply of the adverse party, that the chief argument of his brief was the right which Jean-Baptiste Bissot de Vincennes had, as eldest son, to succeed to his father in the possession of the pew. One sees that, in response to the brief of Delafontaine, Boisseau declares: "That it is unquestionable that the late *Sieur de Vincennes*, the son, of whom the said Delafontaine speaks in his writing, did not leave any male heir." It was finally ordered that the widow of the late *Sieur de Vincennes*, as well as the *Sieurs Delafontaine* and Boisseau, in their names, possess in common, each one-third of the pew in question; and that after the death of the widow Vincennes, Boisseau and Delafontaine both possess in equal parts. On the occasion of this procedure, I note that the wife of the late Jean Bissot de Vincennes signed her name as follows: "Marguerite Forrestier, veuve Vencene."

From all this it follows that Jean Baptiste Bissot de Vincennes, who gave his name to the capital of Indiana, had for godfather the celebrated Intendant Talon; that in 1687 he was about to depart to France; and that finally, in 1694, he signed, "Bissot Vensenne."

It appears also clearly established that Jean Bissot de Vincennes was dead in 1729, and in consequence it was his son who was burned by the Chickasaws in 1736; that this son was married to an Indian woman, that he had no male child, and that he was dead in 1746 at the time of the last contest for the pew of his ancestor.

The letter of Toussaint Loizel appears to contradict the writers who have spoken of this famous battle with the Chickasaws in 1736, when they claim that it occurred in May, whereas it could not have taken place after the 14th of April, the date on which Loizel wrote, who furnished a description with such detail that it cannot be mistaken.

PHILEAS GAGNAN.

After receiving these documents, I suggested to Mr. Doughty that possibly some light might be thrown on the subject by the record of the passage of the fief to the Roy family; and he kindly sent me, under date of February 14, 1916, the following copy of the record:

Herewith is a copy of the Foy et Homage for the Seigniorship of Vincennes, which Mr. Dunn mentions in his letter. As to the Register of the Post of Vincennes, it contains all the marriages, births and burials that were made between the years 1749-1786.

Archives Publiques, Serie M, Actes De Foy et Hommage, Vol. 4, p. 348.

**"LE SIEUR JOSEPH ROY SEIGNEUR ET PROPRIETAIRE DE LA
SEIGNEURIE DE VINCENNES**

"En procédant à la confection du papier terrier du Domaine du Roy en la province de Quebec est comparu au chateau St. Louis de Quebec par devant nous Frederic Haldimand capitaine général et gouverneur en chef de la province de Quebec et territoires en dépendans en Amérique, Vice amiral et garde du grand sceau d'icelle, général et commandant en chef des troupes de Sa Majesté en la dite province et frontières &c.&c. le sieur Joseph Roy seigneur et propriétaire du fief et seigneurie de Vincennes sis et situé dans le district de Quebec, lequel comparant nous a dit qu'il vient par devant nous pour rendre et porter au chateau St. Louis de Quebec la foy et hommage lige qu'il est tenu de rendre et porter à Sa Très Excellente Majesté Georges Trois à cause du dit fief et seigneurie ci après expliqué et nous a représenté pour titres de sa propriété; Primo, une copie autentique d'une concession donnée et accordée par M. Talon ci-devant intendant en la Nouvelle France le trois novembre 1672, au sieur Bissot de soixante dix arpens de terre de front sur une lieue de profondeur à prendre sur le fleuve St. Laurent depuis les terres appartenantes au sieur de la Citière jusqu'aux terres non concédées pour par lui ses loirs et ayans cause jouir de la dite terre en fief et seigneurie sans justice a la charge de la foy et hommage à porter au chateau St. Louis de Quebec duquel il relevera aux droits et redevances accoutumés suivant la coutume, de tenir ou faire tenir feu et lieu sur la dite seigneurie, de conserver et faire conserver les bois de chène qui se trouveront propres à la construction des vaisseaux, de donner avis au Roy des mines, minières ou minéraux si aucuns se trouvent dans l'étendue du dit fief et de laisser les chemins et passages nécessaires; Secundo, sentence d'adjudication par décret rendu en la prévôté de Quebec le dix neuf aoust 1749, au sieur Joseph Roy père du dit comparant du dit fief et seigneurie de Vincennes et dépendances pour et moyennant le prix et somme de cinq mille six cents livres, au bas de laquelle sentence est la quittance de Monsieur Maitre François Etienne Cugnet Directeur du Domaine du Roy au dit sieur Joseph Roy de la somme de huit cent quarante livres pour droit de quint le quart déduit du prix principal de la dite adjudication, en date du vingt-un aoust 1749; Tertio, un acte passé devant Panet et son confrère notaires à Quebec le vingt-cinq mars 1759, portant partage entre Jean Copron et Marie Roy son épouse tant au dit nom que comme tuteur des enfans mineurs de feu Pierre Reval et Charlotte Roy son épouse, le comparant et Marie Gabriel Sarrauit son épouse, et Charles Lecours et Marguerit Roy son épouse de la succession de feu sieur Joseph Roy et de Marie Jeanne Couture, par lequel il apert que les dits Copron et Lecours ont cédé au dit comparant et son épouse le dit fief et seigneurie de Vincennes en entier pour et moyennant une rente viagère de cinq cent vingt cinq livres à la veuve de feu Joseph Roy, leur père et beau-père et en outre la somme de trois mille livres de Soulte et retour; qui sont tous les titres que le dit comparant a dit avoir à nous représenter nous suppliant qu'il nous plaise le recevoir à la foy et hommage lige qu'il est tenu de rendre du dit fief et seigneurie de Vincennes relevant

en plein fief de Sa Majesté, et à l'instant s'étant mis en devoir de Vassal, tête nue, épée et éperons et un genouil en terre aurait dit à haute et intelligible voix qu'il rendait et portait nos mains la foy hommage qu'il est tenu de rendre et porter au Roy au chateau St. Louis de Quebec à cause du dit fief et seigneurie, à laquelle foy et hommage nous l'avons reçu et recevons par ces présentes sauf les droits du Roy en autre chose et de l'autrui en toutes, et le dit comparant a fait et souscrit entre nos mains le serment de bien et fidèlement servir Sa Majesté et de nous avertir et nos successeurs s'il apprend qu'il se fasse quelque chose contre son service, et s'est obligé de fournir son aveu et dénombrement dans le temps prescrit par les lois coutumes et usages de cette province; Dont et du tout il nous a requis acte que nous lui avons accordé et a signé avec nous.

"FRED HALDIMAND.

"J. Roy.

"J. Monk, Attorney general.

"Par ordre de Son Excellence, F. J. CUGNET, G. P. T."

—*Archives Publiques*, Serie M. Actes de Foy et Hommage, Vol. IV, p. 348.

Translation of Above

SIEUR JOSEPH ROY, SEIGNEUR AND PROPRIETOR OF THE SEIGNORY OF
VINCENNES

In proceeding for the completion of the court-roll record of the estate of Roy in the Province of Quebec, has appeared at the Castle of St. Louis of Quebec before us, Frederic Haldimand, captain-general and governor-in-chief of the Province of Quebec and territories and dependencies in America, vice-admiral and keeper of the great seal of the same, general and commandant-in-chief of the troops of His Majesty in the said province and frontiers, etc, Sieur Joseph Roy, seigneur and proprietor of the fief and seignory of Vincennes, situate in the district of Quebec, which applicant has said to us that he comes before us to render and bring to the Castle of St. Louis of Quebec the liege fealty and homage which he is held to render and bring to his Very Excellent Majesty George III on account of said fief and seignory as hereunder set forth and has shewn us as titles of his ownership: First, an authentic copy of a concession given and accorded by M. Talon, former Intendant in New France, November 3, 1672, to Sieur Bissot of seventy arpents of land front by a league in depth to be taken on the River St. Lawrence from the lands belonging to Sieur de la Citière to the lands not conceded, for him, his heirs and assigns to enjoy the said land in fief and seignory, irrevocably, charged with rendering faith and homage at the Castle of St. Louis of Quebec, by which he will discharge the accustomed dues and rents according to custom, to keep or cause to be kept domicile and residence on the said seignory, to conserve or cause to be conserved the oak trees suitable for the construction of vessels; to inform the King of any mines, minerals or ores, if any are found within the said fief, and to permit all necessary roads and ways. Second, writ of adjudication by decree given in the office of the Provost

of Quebec, August 19, 1749, to Sieur Joseph Roy, the father of said applicant, of said fief and seignory of Vincennes and dependencies, on paying the sum of 5,000 livres, on the back of which writ is the receipt of M. Master Francois Etienne Cugnet, Director of the Domains of the King, to the said Sieur Joseph Roy, for the sums of 840 livres for the right to a fifth part, one fourth being deducted from the principal of the said adjudication, dated August 21, 1749. Third, a deed passed before Panet and his associate notaries at Quebec March 25, 1759, making partition between Jean Corpron and Marie Roy, his wife, both in said name and as guardian of the minor children of the late Pierre Reval and Charlotte Roy, his wife, the plaintiff and Marie Gabriel Sarrault, his wife and Charles Lecours and Marguerite Roy, his wife, of the estate of the late Joseph Roy and Marie Jeanne Couture; by which it appears that the said Corpron and Lecours have ceded to the said plaintiff and his wife the said fief and seignory of Vincennes in entirety for the compensation of a life-rent of 525 livres to the widow of the late Joseph Roy, their father and father-in-law, and in addition the sum of 3,000 livres, balance in partition: Which are all the titles the said plaintiff has stated he had to present to us, asking that it may please us to receive the fealty and liege homage which he is bound to render for the said fief and seignory of Vincennes, renewing in full fief of His Majesty; and at the time, putting himself in the attitude of a vassal, with uncovered head, without sword or spurs, and with one knee on the ground he declared in a loud and intelligible voice that he rendered and brought to our hands the fealty and homage which he is bound to render and bring to the King at the Castle of St. Louis of Quebec, on account of said fief and seignory: the which fealty and homage we have received, and do receive by these presents, saving the rights of the King in one thing and another in all respects; and the said plaintiff has made and subscribed the oath at our hands to well and faithfully serve His Majesty, and to inform us and our successors if he apprehends that anything works against his service, and he is obliged to furnish his acknowledgement and enumeration in the time prescribed by the laws and customs and usages of this province. Of which and of all he has prayed of us a deed, which we have accorded, and he has signed with us.

FRED HALDIMAND.

J. Roy.

J. MONK, Attorney general.

By order of His Excellency,

F. J. CUGNET, G. P. T.

While these documents do not solve the problem, they eliminate Jean-Baptiste Bissot, who evidently died at Fort Wayne in 1719. They also make more clear the circumstances accompanying the founding of Post Vincennes, and slightly advance the date of that occurrence by the statement in 1730 that Sieur de Vincennes has led the Piankeshaws into the jurisdiction of Louisiana. The objections of the Governor of Canada explain why the establishment of

the post was delayed, after the orders for it in 1726. But probably the greatest interest will be found in the revelation by these documents of the extent to which the feudal system was in force in Canada, and the serious issues involved in the title to a pew in the cathedral at Quebec.

Some Features of the History of Parke County

BY MAURICE MURPHY, Rockville, Indiana.

PARKE county, possibly because its history possesses no intensely dramatic phases, has never figured prominently in the writing of Indiana history. Its settlers were attracted principally by the opportunity to be found in territory newly opened to settlers, and somewhat by the facilities for trade and communication offered by the Wabash river, Sugar and Caccoon creeks. Its history is simply that of the transition of a mighty forest into a prosperous agricultural region, full of interest, but almost entirely devoid of thrills or sensation. Only one complete history of the county has been written, that of the late John H. Beadle, published in 1880. It is a scholarly, well-written book, though now somewhat out of date. Gen. W. H. H. Beadle and Capt. John T. Campbell, of Rockville, have contributed to newspapers many valuable articles dealing with various subjects of Parke county history; and the writer has drawn frequently from material used in articles he himself has written, published in the *Rockville Tribune*. This material was gathered almost exclusively from interviews with old settlers. Some of the material which they furnished him is here used for the first time.

Parke county is primarily an agricultural county. The broad Wabash valley and the valleys of Sugar creek, Big Raccoon and their tributaries contain land of great fertility, and splendid grazing facilities are offered by the parts of the county still timbered. Coal is the only mineral resource of the county. Its Indian inhabitants were the Wea, Miami and Piankeshaw tribes, while some French pioneers, principally *coueurs de bois*, settled along the Wabash and along Sugar creek. In the *Jesuit Relations* for 1718 appears an account of the visit of a young Frenchman to a village on Pun-ge-se-co-ne, (Sugar creek, literally translated Water-of-many-sugar-trees.) These early French settlers acquired a prosperous trade from the abundance of fur-bearing animals in the county, and many of them married squaws. The "ten o'clock line" south of which, according to treaty, the whites should be allowed to

settle, ran from the mouth of Big Raccoon, along the line of the ten o'clock sun, to the corner of the old reservation on White river. More Indian troubles followed, and the battle of Tippecanoe followed, November 5, 1811.

Harrison's army marched through what is now Parke county. It crossed Big Raccoon where the town of Armiesburg now stands, and the Wabash at the present site of Montezuma. No settlements were made in the county until about 1817, and none that resulted in the formation of a town until the settlement of Roseville in 1819. Chauncey Rose was the most prominent citizen of this town. Its industries were three—a store, a grist-mill, and a distillery. Within six years, four other towns had been established, Armiesburg (1820), Portland Mills (1825), both on Big Raccoon, Montezuma (1823), on the Wabash river, and Rockville (1822), the county seat, on the high land in the center of the county.

As the spread of cotton culture and the plantation system in Kentucky, Virginia and the Carolinas about 1820-30, forced many of the smaller planters and non-slaveholding whites to seek new homes, the majority of the Parke county pioneers can thus be accounted for. However, many came from Ohio and Pennsylvania along with the westward movement of population. Most of the southerners came by way of the Charlestown, Bloomington and Greencastle trail. The settlers from the east came later by the National Road, and through the woods to their new homes. Parke county was incorporated as a county in 1824, being named after Benjamin Parke.

The early settlers entered large claims at the Crawfordsville land office. Settlement at first followed the streams, and practically the whole county was settled by 1845. John H. Beadle records that the last time an Indian was ever seen wild in Parke county was in 1856.

Though they naturally suffered hardships, the Parke county pioneers never suffered from cold or hunger. Game abounded in the county and the abundance of fur-bearing animals and wood made any suffering from the cold unnecessary. The pioneers raised chiefly corn, and this they took on horseback, in ox carts or row boats to the most convenient grist-mill. They lived far apart, but came together at social or religious meetings.

Rattlesnakes and sickness were the chief woes in early times. The former were exterminated when the thickets were cleared, but the latter continued till recent years. Parke county is very rough

and broken, and in pioneer times contained many stagnant ponds and swamps. "By following the windings of the low-land in some seasons," says John H. Beadle, "a goose could swim across a town-ship." Malaria, chills and fever were common, and six doctors were kept busy during the malaria season in one small community. Travelers of eighty years ago tell of going along Big Raccoon for miles, and not finding a family free from sickness. Dr. B. E. Hudson, of Montezuma, who has been practicing medicine there for fifty-seven years, recalls very vividly his experiences. "A man was not a good citizen in those days," he says, "who did not have the chills and fever. I have come home from a hard day's work among people afflicted with it only to find my wife and daughter afflicted with it also."

The old theory was that a kind of poisonous gas was exhaled from the first turning up of the virgin soil, which contaminated the air. Not until about forty years ago was the trouble located in the swamps and ponds, and when these were drained, the annual epidemics almost entirely disappeared.

The Wabash river and its tributaries were the earliest means of communication and commercial intercourse between Parke county and other sections. Pioneers hauled wheat to Chicago, Lafayette, Cincinnati or Louisville, sold it for 60 cents a bushel, and hauled back merchandise. Flatboats were sent to New Orleans loaded with farm products. Pork packing was probably the chief industry of the pioneer river towns, and later of the canal towns. Prices were quite different eighty years ago from now. "About 1830, Patterson, Silliman and Company established a store at Armiesburg, and on the original price list we find salt \$7 per barrel and calico 35 to 40 cents per yard. But pork was sold for \$1.50 a hundred, and two sleek, appetizing 200-pound porkers might be purchased for \$6."

With the building of the Wabash and Erie canal, 1844-47, and the building of the old east and west plank road about the same time, business in the county took a boom. The canal went through Lodi (Waterman), Montezuma and Armiesburg, and Howard, West Union and Clinton Lock (Lyford) grew up on its banks. All did a thriving business in packing, shipping and importing. Most of the goods for Putnam, as well as Parke county, came to these towns. Passenger boats, as well as freight boats, were run on the canal, and much traveling was done in this way. Various social

gatherings, especially dances, were given on canal boats, as they went up and down the canal. It began to decline about 1855, when it failed to meet the competition of the railroads. Most of the canal bed and the remains of the aqueducts across Big Raccoon and Sugar creek are still visible, and a section of the old tow path forms part of the gravel road between Montezuma and West Union.

The first railroad ever built through Parke county was the old Evansville, Terre Haute and Rockville, in 1856. The line was built to Crawfordsville in 1873, and later to Logansport and South Bend, and is now a part of the Vandalia system. The Indianapolis, Danville and Southwestern was surveyed through the county in 1853, though when the road was built, in 1873, a different route was followed.

About forty years ago coal companies were organized and the industry was well on its feet in a few years. The town of Nyesville, northeast of Rockville, has grown up entirely through coal mining, though it was formerly much larger than now. This is also true of the once flourishing town of Minshall, in Raccoon township. Among active mining towns of the county are Rosedale, Roseville and Lyford, in Florida township, Mecca, in Wabash township, and Diamond, in Raccoon township. The Parke County Coal Company was incorporated at Rosedale about twenty years ago, and has developed the coal industry in Florida township and in Otter Creek township, Vigo county. This company has operated twelve mines in all, and the man to whom chief credit for its success is due is the late Joseph Martin, of Rosedale, for years its president and largest stockholder.

Factories in the county have never been numerous, and such as have existed have not been of gigantic proportions. A woolen mill was run from 1864 to 1875 in Rockville by J. M. Nichols and W. M. Thompson, a stave factory from 1870 to 1872 by William Ten Brook, and a carding mill in the days before the war. A series of disastrous fires consumed the stave factory and most of the business houses of Rockville in the years 1870-74, but the town long ago recovered from the loss. However, the financial stringency following these fires had much to do with keeping away factories. The abundance of wheat and timber in Parke county support a large number of flouring and saw mills, and several grain elevators. A large factory for the manufacture of pottery, established at Indianapolis more than forty years ago, is run today by R. G. Atcheson,

son of its founder. McCune and Batman had a woolen mill at Mecca in the ante-bellum days, and at one time paid 90 cents a pound for wool. Among later industries are the Marion Brick and Tile works, near Montezuma, the Dee clay works at Mecca, the glass factory near Roseville, the canning factory at Bloomingdale, and the tile factory of R. R. Lee at Bellmore.

Catholic missionaries visited Parke county in the days of the French regime. The first Protestant preacher was Rev. Isaac McCoy, who founded an Indian school, but met strong opposition from the Catholic half-breeds of the county. The first organized church in the county was old Shiloh (Presbyterian) about four miles north-east of Rockville. This church was founded in 1822 by Rev. Charles Beatty, and grew so rapidly that in 1832 there were enough members living in Rockville to form a church, so they withdrew in that year. The church they founded at Rockville still exists, though separated into two congregations from 1839 to 1869 on account of doctrinal differences. Revs. William Cravens and William Smith preached Methodism in the county from the earliest times, and a church was organized at Rockville about 1826. The Indiana conference met in Rockville in 1838, presided over by Bishop Soule. Over one hundred preachers came, by river, stage or on horseback, ministers and horses being cared for free of charge during their stay. Lorenzo Dow and Robert R. Roberts were among the eminent Methodist preachers who visited pioneer Rockville. In later years, Dr. Lyman Abbott, then a pastor at Terre Haute, frequently preached at the Presbyterian church.

The Friends settled in the northwestern part of the county and established a church at Bloomingdale in 1826. The Baptists also appeared at an early day and built a brick church in Rockville. Some smaller sects took root in the county, such as Associate Presbyterians (Seceders), Christians, United Brethren, Cumberland Presbyterians and Lutherans. Among pioneer preachers of these sects, Doctor Dixon, of the Seceders, and Doctor Rudisill, of the Lutherans, were noted over Indiana for their learning. The Roman Catholics founded a church at Rockville in 1854, where Bishop H. J. Alerding, of Fort Wayne, was one-time parish priest.

The Parke county pioneers were usually religious, and revivals, camp meetings, and meetings for doctrinal debates were very common. In spite of the high degree of fervor aroused, these services seldom witnessed any abnormal religious manifestations.

Log schools were established in the county in the earliest times, and a brick school house was built in Rockville about 1830. The teachers knew the rudiments of the three R's and nothing more. School government was an athleticocracy. The school code was as complex as the law of contracts and as rigid as that of Draco. An unsuccessful effort was made to get Asbury College (now DePauw University) located at Rockville in 1837. Though this resulted in failure it caused an educational awakening in Rockville. For the next twenty years many select schools and a female seminary flourished. The Parke county seminary was founded in 1839. This became Rockville high school in 1872 and was commissioned a few years ago. The Friends were zealous for education, and founded the Western Manual Labor Institute at Bloomingdale in 1846; it soon became Bloomingdale academy and still exists in a prosperous condition. It was famous under the superintendency of the late Barnabas C. Hobbs, who also did much to develop the common schools of the county by his normal training classes.

Few counties in Indiana experienced more stormy times during the Civil War than did Parke. The Peace Democrats were very strong and at times menacing. They were led by Hon. John C. Davis and other men of marked ability. Many trivial events gave rise to shooting affrays, and in the northern part of the county, civil war was threatened. Even today we hear of the "Battle of McCoy's Bluffs," or the "charge on Thompson's hen-roosts." One company from Parke county, was sent out under the first call for troops, serving in the 11th Indiana. Parke county furnished the first company to the first three year regiments sent out from the state—Company A, 14th Indiana. The county also furnished companies to the 31st, 21st, 43rd and 85th Infantry, the 6th and 11th Cavalry and the 9th Battery, of the three year service; and to five short term regiments, the 78th, 115th, 133rd, 137th, and 149th. The county sent out about 2,000 soldiers in all—about one-eighth of the entire population of a county in which a large portion of the inhabitants were actively or passively opposed to the subjugation of the South. Ladies' Aid societies existed in every township, and regularly furnished their contributions to the soldiers.

Parke county has produced a number of noted people, among them Gen. Tilghman A. Howard, congressman and minister to Texas; E. W. McGaughey, lawyer and statesman; Joseph A. Wright, U. S. senator and minister to Germany; Thomas H. Nelson, minister

to Mexico and Chile; Barnabas C. Hobbs, churchman and educator; Robert L. Kelly, now president of Earlham; John H. Beadle, author and journalist; W. H. H. Beadle, educator; Juliet V. Strauss, writer; Horace G. Burt, railroad magnate; James Harlan, U. S. senator and cabinet officer; James T. Johnson, congressman; and Joseph G. Cannon, ex-speaker of the national house of representatives.

Parke county was created by act of the legislature, approved January 9, 1821, and the governor appointed the following officers to serve until an election could be held: Captain Andrew Brooks, sheriff; James Blair, coroner; Wallace Rea, clerk and recorder; Dempsey Seybold and Joseph Ralston, justices, and Stephen Collett, surveyor. The election was held the first Monday in August, 1821, the poll being at the home of Richard Henry, just north of the Vigo county line. The Jackson men cast a majority of the votes, of which there were seventy; drinking and a fight between two of the election officials followed. It was then considered dishonorable to complain of a man and have him fined for fighting on election day or muster day; so all the accumulated quarrels of a year or two were then and there settled, and the books squared.

In its early period, Parke county, like most frontier localities of that day, was strong for Andrew Jackson and his faction. Most of the few Clay men in the county were settlers from Pennsylvania and New England. However, about 1826-'30 came a great migration of Quakers and small plantation owners from the Carolinas, most of whom were Whigs. This addition to the Whig vote gave them a fair majority over the Democrats, and Parke county most of the time since has returned Whig or Republican majorities. The strength of parties in various localities of the county is very much as it was in pioneer days. Liberty and Penn townships have always returned great Whig and Republican majorities. Only once, in 1906, did a Democrat carry Penn township. Reserve and Jackson townships, largely settled by Kentuckians and Virginians, who favored low tariff and opposed the United States bank, have been strongly Democratic from earliest times. The early Whig and Republican domination was so strong that no Democratic newspaper ever succeeded in the county until after the Civil War, though the Rockville *Republican*, under various names, has been in existence since 1827. After the war the Montezuma *Era* was founded and became the Democratic organ, but gave way to the Rockville

Tribune a few years later, now the only Democratic paper published in the county.

As originally constituted, Parke county contained eleven townships, Adams, Washington, Sugar Creek, Liberty, Reserve, Wabash, Florida, Raccoon, Jackson, Union and Greene. Scott township was formed from parts of Liberty, Sugar Creek and Reserve townships in 1854, but its name was changed shortly to Penn township. Sugar Creek township was divided in 1855, and the eastern portion was called Howard township. These thirteen townships compose the county as it is at present.

The county seat was finally established at Rockville in 1824, but not until after court had been held at Roseville, Armiesburg and Montezuma. The regular circuit judge usually presided part of the time at court and the rest of the time court was in charge of associate judges, who generally were respected men of the community, but who usually knew little of the law. Few of the county officials prior to 1850 were men of education. For years it was the custom to elect a coroner from among the stalwart blacksmiths of the county, and Randall H. Burks, Solomon Pinegar and Johnson S. White were among the pioneer blacksmiths to hold this office. The office of sheriff was considered very desirable, and among antebellum political leaders and men of ability who served as sheriff we find William T. Noel, Austin M. (Montana) Puett, James W. Beadle, and David Kirkpatrick. The first cases tried in the county were for petit larceny, gambling and selling liquor without a license. No famous trial occurred until that of Noah Beauchamp for murder in 1841. Beauchamp was a blacksmith of Vigo county, a good citizen, but a man of hot temper and a family pride that was almost a mania. As a result of a charge that his daughter had stolen some goods from a neighbor's family, Beauchamp became almost insanely angry, and the result was a quarrel and a murder. The case was venued to Parke county, and a memorable trial followed, in which "Ned" McGaughey prosecuted and Tilghman A. Howard represented Beauchamp, and the result was conviction with a death penalty. An appeal to the supreme court and even to the governor failed, and Beauchamp was hanged in November, 1841, on a hill-side about a mile east of Rockville. Only one other man has ever been hanged in the county, "Buck" Stout, who committed a murder in Montgomery county in 1884, and whose case was venued to Parke county.

Parke was originally paired with Vigo county in the election of a representative, but in 1826 was created an independent district. This continued until this present year, when Parke and Fountain counties were paired. The county early was joined with Vermillion as a member of the 47th judicial circuit of Indiana, and this continued until the present year, when, by act of legislature, the counties were given separate circuits.

From 1825-50 was an age of extensive internal improvements all over the county, and Parke county became involved in the general plan. When the national road was surveyed in 1827, one set of surveyors reported a route across Parke county, crossing the Wabash at Clinton. However, Terre Haute had a representative in Congress, and he succeeded in having the route built through the Prairie City. As early as 1825 the Wabash and Erie canal was a local issue in the county, and in that year Joseph M. Hayes, of Montezuma, announced himself for the legislature, making the canal his chief issue. It continued a vital issue in the county until it was finally built. The county was well enough settled to feel the effects of the panic of 1837, and from thenceforward national issues are most prominent in campaigns of the county. The Whigs used their "log cabin and hard cider" propaganda with complete success, so far as Parke county was concerned, in the campaign of 1840.

The campaign of 1844 was one of the most bitter and strenuous ever waged in the county. Political activity began in 1843 with the gubernatorial and senatorial elections. E. W. McGaughey, Whig, and Joseph A. Wright, Democrat, both of Rockville, were the opposing candidates for congress, and both made stump speeches at almost every town, cross roads and school house in the county. The *Olive Branch*, the Whig organ, was a typical pioneer political "sheet," more noted for calumny and rabid partisanship than for news sense and correct use of the King's English. During the campaign it abounded in such expressions as these: "Infidel dog, who thus dares to open his God-defying lips," "locofoco," "sneak," "wily Joe (Joseph A. Wright)" and "tricky Austin (Austin M. Puett)". The Whigs carried Parke county, but the State went Democratic, and Wright carried the district by just three votes—this was especially humiliating to the Parke county Whigs, as "Little Ned" ran far below his ticket in the county. (He was elected two years later.) The editor of the *Olive Branch* offered excuses, and announced: "No paper will be issued from this office

for three or four weeks, as the editor must go out and collect what is due him." Clay clubs sprang up all over the county early in 1844, the Democrats soon manifested similar activity, and by fall politics had transcended business in importance. Citizens of Rockville remember a wagon and team of oxen coming to town from the northern part of the county, the wagon and horns of the oxen being adorned with polk berries. Polk-stalks and roosters were Democratic, and 'coon skins and poplar boughs Republican emblems. "Argument was completely abandoned. In its stead was abuse of the opposing party, vile caricatures of its candidates, obscene and foolish song, with sarcasm, clamor and confusion."

Campaigns continued to be heated, but the issue gradually changed from "finance" to "slavery," and on this issue the Whigs maintained a strong plurality in the county. The "underground railroad" ran through Parke county, and a "station" was established in a barn about a mile east of Annapolis.

Many of the Carolina settlers of Parke county were Democrats and many of them carried the southern viewpoint with them to the north. Other Democrats believed that the war was wrong on principle, and that it was wrong to subdue the South. These two refractory elements of population, quite numerous for a county the size of Parke, were always threatening and at times turbulent, until the end of the war. The bitter feeling engendered by this conflict figured strongly in the political campaigns of the next twenty-five years, and has not died out entirely even today. The Knights of the Golden Circle, later called the Sons of Liberty, had a very large organization in Rockville, at the head of which were Hon. John G. Davis and Dr. H. J. Rice. Both were speakers of ability, and made many speeches denouncing this "unholy, fratricidal strife." Mr. Davis spoke in all parts of the county in behalf of the Peace Democracy. The *Parke County Republican* viciously attacked him; its editor, Madison Keeney, was a man of undoubted courage, much ability and zealous patriotism, but his attacks were as vicious as they were fearless. His aptitude for strong language and acrid repartee especially angered the Peace Democracy. Mr. Davis called the *Republican* a "smut machine," and Mr. Keeney replied: "Smut machines has two definitions—agricultural, a machine for separating the grains of wheat from the dirt, the chaff and the cheat; political, a paper for separating the good and true men from ditto. We accept the designation." The editor's life and property were threatened,

but he refused to retract anything he had said, "even though all the people of Parke county were against him." Local speakers, notably Thomas N. Rice, a prominent attorney, spoke vigorously against the Peace Democracy upon various occasions, and in August, 1861, Governor Morton spoke in Rockville. Contemporary estimates of the crowd that heard him, doubtless greatly exaggerated, place it at 5,000 people. He discussed the issues of the war and then turned to the "Copperheads":

"Let them beware, vigilant men watch them, and the moment they transgress the limits of the law, they will be summarily punished." This warning became perverted, as was to be expected in such strenuous times, and John G. Davis, in subsequent speeches, spoke of the "sneaking administration that sets a vigilance committee secretly to watch men who merely express their honest convictions."

John G. Davis, once one of the most popular and esteemed men in Rockville, became the most hated, at least so far as the Union people were concerned. Things continued in this state for many months, and a Union mass meeting was called. The meeting unanimously decided that John G. Davis should be killed, but one man, a little more far-sighted than the others, asked, "Whom shall we appoint to kill him?" Thereupon the meeting got "cold feet." No one wanted the task, and Mr. Davis continued to live and make speeches. Daniel W. Voorhees spoke several times in Rockville during the war; the Peace Democracy considered his speeches examples of almost infallible logic, while the succeeding issues of the *Republican* gave him a severe grilling.

The smoldering hatred of the two factions resulted in a shooting affray in Rockville in the summer of 1862. The Puetts were a family prominent among the Peace Democracy, having been natives of North Carolina, and an apparently harmless remark made by one of them about Marshal James K. Meacham, a loyal Union man, was enlarged upon and carried to Mr. Meacham in the form of a challenge. The result was that the marshal and his supposed challenger started a fight with pistols on the public square of Rockville, and were joined by others, so that the affair became a miniature battle. However, the heat of the conflict was in inverse proportion to the accuracy of the firing, for no one was killed or seriously wounded.

The anti-war party was successful in the elections of 1862, but was defeated in those of 1863. Accordingly, while affairs were com-

paratively quiet during 1863, trouble was started again in 1864. The Butternut building, referred to elsewhere, became an object of strong suspicion, and it was said with more or less truth that the Peace Democrats were drilling in this building. All kinds of insurrection rumors were afloat, and some Union men even went so far as to threaten Dr. Rice's life and property in case of open violence. The *Republican* became full of talk about "traitors," "suspicious looking characters," "secret drillings," "hundreds of desperate, villainous looking strangers" and the like. "It were a wearisome task," says John H. Beadle, "to recount all the rumors of trouble, the neighborhood quarrels, the fist fights, threats and recriminations." Only in Sugar Creek and Howard townships, however, was there any organized attempt at violence. These townships contain many hills and hollows and were still in the rude, pioneer state at the outbreak of the war. Sentiment was about evenly divided on the question of the Union.

A general raid was made, late in 1864, on the Union men of Howard township, with the intention of disarming them. George Lay, an aged engineer who had served on the Baltimore & Ohio thirty years before and who later settled on a farm in Howard township, proved the La Tour d'Auvergne of the locality. When about thirty anti-war men raided his home at night, he rose and met them undauntedly with a corn cutter. He wounded two of them, one mortally, and his wife blew a blast on the dinner horn to arouse the neighbors, and the raiders fled, one accidentally shooting himself fatally while climbing a fence in haste. Mr. Lay himself was wounded, but not seriously. The home guards, consisting of a company from nearly every township in the county, all under the command of Col. Caspar Budd, of Howard, was called out, and the hills and vales of Sugar Creek and Howard townships were raided. Much excitement was aroused, but the Peace Democracy had subsided, and no fighting occurred.

A great sensation was aroused in Rockville the same summer by what may be called the Beaubien incident. Rev. J. C. B. Beaubien was pastor of the First, or Old School, Presbyterian church of Rockville, at the time, and made an apparently professional visit to Indianapolis. After his return a letter was found, purporting to be from prominent Knights of the Golden Circle in Rockville to their brethren in Indianapolis. The missive gave instructions for the sending of arms and ammunition to the Rockville branch of the

order, in care of Mr. Beaubien. The letter was printed in the *Parke County Republican*, and made the subject of long and venomous editorial comment in several issues. Whether or not the letter was authentic, it was taken at full value in Rockville; Mr. Beaubien, though known previously as a man of high character and considerable ability, found himself deserted in wrath by most of his congregation, and publicly denounced by men who had been his most active members. He professed no connection with the K. G. C., and avowed his loyalty to the Union, but the people refused to believe in his sincerity, and he finally resigned in November, 1864.

By the campaign of 1864, the Republicans and War Democrats had been fused into the Union party, and carried Parke county that year by a large majority. Candidates for the Union nomination for office were numerous, and there were no less than nine for sheriff. The convention nominated principally ex-Union soldiers, and the War Democrats were greatly peeved over the nomination of a young Union soldier for commissioner, over Judge Walter Danaldson, one of the most prominent citizens of Montezuma. They had the following notice published in the *Republican*, and carried it out, though without success and against the protest of Judge Danaldson himself: "We, the War Democrats of Parke county, intend to run Judge Danaldson as our candidate for county commissioner, whether he is willing or not."

One unfortunate class living in Rockville during the Civil War was the class of people who came from the South, and who, although they believed in the righteousness of the Union cause, were too devoted "to the home of their childhood and the traditions of their people" to support it actively. Their practical neutrality was regarded as an evidence of treason, and they were called "traitors" and "Copperheads" by the radical Unionists, and socially ostracised. Notable among these people was the Rev. Samuel H. McNutt, a Presbyterian minister of talent and most lovable character. Some Virginia and Carolina families were looked upon with suspicion because of their Southern origin, even though their sons fought with gallantry in the Union army.

The antipathy for the men who opposed the war or actually sympathised with the South remained very bitter for years after the war, and has not yet completely subsided. "Copperhead," "traitor," "rebel," "Knight of the Golden Circle," were employed for years by the Republicans in campaigns. This was especially true in the bitter

campaign of 1876. As a typical incident, a highly respected Reserve township Democrat had been selected as the party's choice for representative, and his prospects were seriously hurt by a communication to the *Republican* to the effect that during the war he had refused a Union soldier refreshment. According to the communication, he said that he cared nothing for the soldiers or the cause for which they were fighting. He replied with a communication, professing esteem for the soldiers of the Union, and speaking of various relatives who had served in the Civil War. However, as he and several brothers were of military age during the war, and none served in the army, the first communication was generally believed, and the candidate failed of election. In the deadlock following the election of 1876, feeling was exceedingly tense. Democratic meetings denounced in severest terms Senator Morton, as well as "Republican treachery," and "narrow, unreasonable war prejudices."

The Terre Haute Company

BY A. R. MARKLE, Terre Haute, Indiana.

ON the twelfth and thirteenth of September, 1816, Joseph Kitchell, of Jackson county, Indiana, entered at the Vincennes land office the east fractional sections of twenty-one and twenty-eight in township twelve north and range nine west, with eleven other parcels of land in what afterward became Vigo county. This was a part of the Harrison Purchase of September 30, 1809, at Fort Wayne, and was formally opened to entry and settlement by the proclamation of President Madison of May 1, 1816, which provided for sales to be held at Vincennes on the second Monday in September following and for three succeeding weeks.

Another proclamation of the same date allowed entries by the Canadian Volunteers, under the Act of March 5, 1816, to be made on and after the first Monday in June, and there were over 23,000 acres entered under that act, beginning with the entry of Major Abraham Markle of 800 acres on June 3, this being the first entry in the tract, and his being land Warrant number one under the act.

Kitchell disposed of his entries by an assignment to Cuthbert and Thomas Bullitt, of Louisville, Kentucky; Jonathan Lindley, of Orange county, Indiana; Abraham Markle, of Fort Harrison, and Hyacinth Laselle, of Vincennes, who entered into an agreement dated September 19, 1816, whereby the thirteen tracts were apportioned into twelve equal and undivided shares of which the Bullitts were the owners of two, Lindley four, Markle three and Laselle three. Further, in order that the payments for the land might be regularly made, they agreed that immediately on the execution of the agreement they would pay one-fourth of the purchase money, to wit: the sum of \$7,594.07 into the office of the receiver of public monies at Vincennes,—\$1,265.90 by the Bullitts, \$2,531.81 by Lindley, \$1,898.85 by Markle and \$1,898.85 by Laselle. A like amount was to be paid on or before the first of August in 1818, 1819 and 1820, and a default by any of the parties should forfeit his interest in the venture. They further agreed to make such disposition of

the lands as they might deem most advisable as soon as they conveniently could, arranged for a division of the profits on the first of June, 1818, and on the first of October of each year thereafter, and that any remaining unsold lands should be advertised July 1, 1821, and sold on the first of the following October with a final settlement of the proceeds in money, notes, bonds, dues and demands following such sale.

On this same date a power of attorney was given "our trusty friend, Joseph Kitchell, authorizing him to take possession of the lands and to lay out in town lots, in and out, such part thereof" as they or any three of them might direct. In accord with this plan Kitchell filed for record at Vincennes October 25, 1816, the plan of the future town, comprising 268 lots, a public square and two double-sized lots which were reserved for a church and school.

On the day following this agreement Major Markle sold to Eliakim Crosby, Eleazar Aspinwall and Harlow & Trimble three-quarters of his interest; September 25, Lindley sold seven-eighths of his interest to Joseph Kitchell, David Raymond, Henry Speed, William Hoggatt, Jonathan Lyons, John DePauw, and John Owens, while three days later, September 28, Laselle partitioned his three shares into twenty parts and sold portions to Truman Blackman, John Goodwin, Joseph Warner, Caleb Crawford, Andrew Hinrod, M. and H. Recherville, Michel Broulliette, Pierre Broulliette, Modeset & Shields, John Dunn, Robert Harrison, John Carr, John R. Holloway, Charles Thompson, John Andrews, Pierre Laplante and John Long. Here we have within ten days of the agreement of the five men, and before a stake had been driven on the plat, thirty-five part owners.

The first sale of lots took place October 31, 1816, and the *Western Sun*, of Vincennes, said, November 9, that upwards of twenty-one thousand dollars worth were sold the first day. Many of these sales, if not all of them, were on credit, the larger part of them did not stay sold and for some time to come the stakes of the surveyor were the only evidences of the town of Terre Haute. It is true that six houses were built that fall and winter but at the time of the location of the county seat, in the spring of 1818, the owners were still able to donate forty-eight of the lots to the county as part payment for the location. We may be sure, too, that they did not give away all the lots that they owned at this time.

B. Johnson, sheriff of Sullivan county, advertised to be sold for

taxes sixty lots that were not highly valued, in the *Western Sun* of November 22, 1817, which would look like quick action on his part, for the patent was not yet issued for the land.

Within the company, many sales took place, for on April 16, 1817, John Holloway sold to Wilson and Pocock, Wilson assigning his interest to Pocock but acquiring, May 23, the interest of John Long; Eliakim Crosby sold to William Harlow, October 31; Henry Speed sold to the Bullitts, July 3, 1818; July 13, John Carr sold to Charles Smith; the next day Smith bought of John Dunn; October 3, Abraham Markle sold his remaining interest to Eleazar Aspinwall, this sale later confusing affairs for the company; October 15, John Owens sold to the Bullitts; June 28, 1819, Joseph Kitchell sold to Jonathan Lindley; October 23, Harlow sold his half interest in Harlow & Trimble's purchase to John Sheets. December 22, Thomas Bullitt sold to his brother Cuthbert the portion they had bought of Henry Speed and John Owens. June 6, 1820, Harlow sold his interest as the surviving partner of Harlow & Trimble to Gorham A. Worth of the Bank of the United States, this being a deed of trust to secure the payment of a note for \$6,300.00, which was evidently paid, for he again sold this share to John Sheets, January 30, 1821.

Meantime John Badollet, register of the land office at Vincennes, issued October 17, 1820, his certificate showing payment in full to have been made for the land on which the town was located.

Eleazar Aspinwall, who had bought out Abraham Markle, died in November of 1820, and, as his estate was believed to be insolvent and the company was in doubt to whom his interest was payable, his heirs gave a power of attorney to William C. Linton, August 31, 1821, under which he made a trust deed April 16, 1822, to Moses Hoggatt and Robert Sturgus, trustees under a deed of September 29, 1821, whereupon the trustees proceeded to execute deeds to the purchasers, many of whom had long before paid for their lots and had erected thereon houses, shops and stores in which the social and business life of the future city was beginning to be manifest.¹

¹ The references for this paper are to the *Deed Records* of Knox and Vigo counties. The records of the Canadian Volunteers are from the county *Plat Books*. The author has in his possession many of the old personal papers, including land patents.

Tecumseh's Confederacy

By ELMORE BARCE, Fowler, Indiana.

RESULTS OF THE TREATY OF FORT WAYNE.

THE Treaty of Fort Wayne having been consummated and certain disputes relative to horse-stealing and other depredations having been arranged between the two races, the governor, on the fourth of October, 1809, set out on his return to Vincennes. He traveled on horse-back, accompanied by his secretary and interpreter, passing through the Indian villages at the forks of the Wabash and striking the towns of the Miamis at the mouth of the Mississinewa. Here dwelt John B. Richardville, or Peshewah, a celebrated chief of that tribe, who was later chosen as principal sachem on the death of Little Turtle. Richardville had not been personally present at Fort Wayne, but he now received the governor cordially, and gave his unqualified approval to the previous proceedings.

The day before his arrival at Peshewah's town, the governor met with a singular experience, which not only served to illustrate the advancing ravages of liquor among the tribes, but Harrison's intimate knowledge of Indian laws, customs and usages. On coming into the camp of Pucan, a Mississinewa chieftain, he discovered that one of the warriors had received a mortal wound during a "drunken frolic" of the preceding evening. The chiefs informed him that the slayer had not been apprehended, whereupon the governor recommended that if the act "should appear to have proceeded from previous malice," that the offender should be punished, "but if it should appear to be altogether accident to let him know it and he would assist to make up the matter with the friends of the deceased."¹ This payment of wergild or "blood-money" among the Indian tribes in compensation of the loss of life or limb, is strongly in accord with the ancient Saxon law, yet it seems to have prevailed as far back at least as the time of William Penn, for in one of his letters describing the aborigines of America, he says: "The justice they (the Indians)

¹ *Treaty of 1809. Official Proceedings. State Library, 23-24.*

have is pecuniary; in case of any wrong or evil fact, be it murder itself, they atone by feasts and presents of their wampum, which is proportioned to the offense, or person injured, or of the sex they are of; for, in case they kill a woman, they pay double, and the reason they render, is that she can raise children, which men cannot do."² Later on, at Vincennes, the governor had another and similar experience which affords additional proof that the custom above mentioned was still prevalent. A Pottawattomie chieftain from the prairies came in attended by some young men. He found there about one hundred and fifty of the Kickapoos, who were receiving their annuity, and he immediately made complaint to the governor as follows: "My father," said he, "it is now twelve moons since these people, the Kickapoos, killed my brother; I have never revenged it, but they have promised to cover up his blood, but they have not done it. I wish you to tell them, my father, to pay me for my brother, or some of them will lose their hair before they go from this." The governor accordingly advised the chief of the Kickapoos to satisfy the Pottawattomie. On the following day the latter again called upon the governor, and said: "See there, my father," showing three blankets and some other articles, "see what these people have offered me for my brother, but my brother was not a hog that I should take three blankets for him," and he declared his intention of killing some of them unless they would satisfy him in the way he proposed. The governor, upon inquiry, finding that the goods of the Kickapoos were all distributed, directed, on account of the United States, a small addition to be made to what he had received."³

At the villages on Eel river the governor met with certain of the Weas of the lower river region, and dispatched them to summon their chiefs to meet with him at Vincennes and ratify the treaty. He arrived at the latter place on the twelfth of October, having been absent for a period of about six weeks, and found that the complete success of his mission had restored in large measure that popularity which he had beforetime lost on account of his advocacy of slavery. The acquisition was heralded far and wide as a measure calculated in all respects to forward the interests of the Territory. Not only was the total domain acquired, vast in extent and acreage, (being computed at about 2,600,000 acres), but it was considered extremely

² *History of the Shawnee Indians*, by Henry Harvey, a member of the Society of Friends. Cincinnati, 1855. 20.

³ *Dawson's Harrison—Appendix*. Note VI.

fertile, well watered, and as containing salt springs and valuable mines.⁴ Once the Weas and other tribes were removed from close proximity to the settlements, it was confidently expected that the old clashes would cease and that the new territory would be speedily surveyed and opened up for entry and purchase to within twelve miles of the mouth of the Vermillion. The Indians also, seemed well satisfied. The Pottawattomie had been urgent; Richardville, Little Turtle and all the Miamis had given their consent; the Weas and Kickapoos were about to ratify. Nothing was then heard of the pretensions of the Shawnee Prophet or his abler brother. In a message to the territorial legislature in 1810, reviewing the events of this period, Harrison said:

It was not until eight months after the conclusion of the treaty, and after his design of forming a combination against the United States had been discovered and defeated, that the pretensions of the Prophet, in regard to the land in question, were made known. A furious clamor was then raised by the foreign agents among us, and other disaffected persons, against the policy which had excluded from the treaty this great and influential character, as he is termed, and the doing so expressly attributed to the personal ill-will on the part of the negotiator. No such ill-will did in fact exist. I accuse myself, indeed, of an error in the patronage and support which I afforded him on his arrival on the Wabash, before his hostility to the United States had been developed. But on no principle of propriety or policy could he have been made a party to the treaty. The personage, called the Prophet, is not a chief of the tribe to which he belongs, but an outcast from it, rejected and hated by the real chiefs, the principal of whom was present at the treaty, and not only disclaimed on the part of his tribe any title to the lands ceded, but used his personal influence with the chiefs of other tribes to affect the cession.⁵

The "principal chief" of the Shawnees above alluded to was undoubtedly Black Hoof, or Catahecassa who at this time lived in the first town of that tribe, at Wapakonetta, Ohio. Being near to Fort Wayne he had no doubt attended the great council at that place. He had been a renowned warrior, having been present at Braddock's Defeat, at Point Pleasant, and at St. Clair's disaster. But when Anthony Wayne conquered the Indians at Falling Timbers, Black Hoof had given up, and he had afterward remained steadfast in his allegiance to the United States government. When Tecumseh afterwards attempted to form his confederacy, he met with a firm and steady resistance from Black Hoof, and his influence was such that

⁴ Vincennes *Western Sun*, Oct. 21, 1809.

⁵ *Dawson's Harrison*, 166; Vincennes *Western Sun*, Dec. 8, 1810.

no considerable body of the Shawnees every joined the Prophet's camp. Black Hoof died in 1831 at the advanced age of one hundred and ten years, and tradition says that like Moses, "his eye was not dim; nor his natural force abated." The fact that Black Hoof, who was of great fame among his tribe, as both orator and statesman, made no claim to any of the lands sold below the Vermillion, is strong accumulative proof of the assertion afterwards made by Harrison to Tecumseh, that any claims of his tribe to the lands on the Wabash were without foundation.⁶

The personal admirers and intimate associates of Harrison, were, of course, overjoyed. They were no doubt influenced to some extent by the fact that another long lease of power was in sight. Their leader's victory would inure to their own benefit. Still, there were no cravens among them. A banquet followed, participated in by a number of the leading citizens of the town and adjacent country. Judge Henry Vanderburgh, of the Territorial Court, presided, and toasts were drunk to the treaty, Governor Harrison, his secretary Peter Jones, and "the honest interpreter," Joseph Barron. Of those present on that occasion, some were afterwards officers at Tippecanoe, and one, Thomas Randolph, fell at the side of his chief.⁷

There were those, however, who were not to be silenced by the governor's triumph. The political battles of that time were extremely vitriolic, and the fights over territorial politics had been filled with hate. Certain foes of the governor not only appeared in Knox county, but eventually in the halls of the National Congress, and there were those who did not hesitate to question the governor's integrity. Among those who bitterly opposed Harrison was one William McIntosh, "a Scotchman of large property at Vincennes, who had been for many years hostile to the governor, and who was not believed to be very partial to the government of the United States." One John Small made an affidavit before Judge Benjamin Parke that prior to the year 1805, McIntosh had been upon good terms with Harrison, but that Harrison's advocacy of a representative government for the Territory, or its advancement to the second grade, had turned him into an enemy. However this may be, Harrison and his friends, in order to vindicate his fame at home and abroad, now resolved to bring an action for damages in the terri-

⁶ *Report of American Ethnology. Handbook of American Indians. Part I.* 212.

⁷ Vincennes *Western Sun*, Oct. 21, 1809.

torial courts against McIntosh "for having asserted that he had cheated the Indians, in the last treaty which had been made with them at Fort Wayne." The suit being brought to issue, it was found that of the territorial judges then on the bench, one, probably Judge Vanderburgh, was a personal friend of the governor's, and one a personal friend of McIntosh. These gentlemen, therefore, both retired, and the Honorable Waller Taylor, who had recently come into the territory, assumed the ermine. A jury was selected by the court naming two elisors, who in turn selected a panel of forty-eight persons, from which the plaintiff and defendant each struck twelve, and from the remaining twenty-four the jury was drawn by lot. With this "struck jury" the cause proceeded to a hearing. The following account, given in *Dawson's Harrison*, will prove of interest:

Before a crowded audience, this interesting trial was continued from 10 a. m. till one o'clock at night. Every person concerned in the Indian Department, or who could know anything of the circumstances of the late treaty at Fort Wayne, was examined, and every latitude that was asked for, or attempted by the defendant, in the examination permitted. Finding that the testimony of all the witnesses went to prove the justice and integrity of the governor's conduct in relation to everything connected with the Indian Department, the defendant began to ask questions relating to some points of his civil administration. To this the jury as well as the court objected, the latter observing that it was necessary that the examination should be confined to the matter at issue. But at the earnest request of the governor the defendant was permitted to pursue his own course and examine the witnesses upon every point which he might think proper. The defendant's counsel abandoning all idea of justification, pleaded only for a mitigation of damages. After a retirement of one hour the jury returned a verdict of \$4,000 damages. To pay this sum, a large amount of the defendant's lands were exposed for sale, and in the governor's absence in the command of the army the ensuing year, was bought in by his agent. Two-thirds of his property has since been returned to McIntosh and the remaining part given to some of the orphan children of those distinguished citizens who fell a sacrifice to their patriotism in the last war.⁸

The head chief of the Weas at this time was Lapoussier, whose name would indicate that he was of French extraction. He arrived at Vincennes on the fifteenth day of October with fifteen warriors and was later followed by Negro Legs, Little Eyes and Shawanoe, who came in with other companies of the tribe. On the twenty-fourth the governor assembled them for the purpose, as he stated, of

⁸ *Dawson's Harrison*, 176.

ascertaining whether they "were in a situation to understand the important business he had to lay before them." He said that he had shut up the liquor casks, but that he found that his proclamation prohibiting the sale of liquor had been disobeyed. He was glad to find, however, that they were sober, and expressed a wish that they would not drink any more while the deliberations were in progress. On the twenty-fifth he explained fully all the provisions of the Treaty of Fort Wayne, the benefit the Weas would derive from an increase in their annuities, and their removal from the vicinity of the settlements to the neighborhood of their brothers, the Miamis, who lived farther up the river. He also told them that they would be granted the same amount of goods in hand received by the larger tribes, on account of the inconvenience they would suffer by moving from their present habitations. The governor's conduct in refusing to negotiate while any evidences of liquor were manifest was in strict keeping with his attitude at Fort Wayne, and his generous treatment of a smaller and weaker tribe certainly redounds to his credit. The Treaty of Fort Wayne was duly ratified and approved on the twenty-sixth of October, 1809, and the convention was signed by Lapoussier and all the Wea chieftains without a single dissent.⁹

Only one tribe now remained who had any manner of claim to any of the lands in the Wabash Valley. This tribe was the Kickapoos, who lived at the mouth of the Vermillion river and in that part of Indiana now comprising practically all of Vermillion county and parts of Warren and Parke. Accordingly a treaty was concluded with them at Vincennes on the ninth of December, 1809, whereby they fully ratified all the proceedings at Fort Wayne, and further ceded to the United States "all that tract of land which lies above the tract above ceded (the north line of which was Raccoon creek), the Wabash, the Vermillion river, and a line to be drawn from the north corner of said ceded tract, so as to strike the Vermillion river at the distance of twenty miles in a direct line from its mouth." Among the interesting names attached as witnesses to the articles is that of Hyacinthe Lasselle.

THE PROPHET AND THE RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT.

The confederacy then, was established upon a priesthood. Let us regard the priest. He was a character remarkable enough to

⁹ *Treaty of 1809. Official Proceedings* (State Library), 23-24; also *United States Statute at Large—Indian Treaties*, Boston, 1856, 116.

invite the attention of all the leading men of that day, including Jefferson. He was subtle and crafty enough to delude Harrison into the belief that he might be a friend instead of a foe.

The account related by Simon Kenton, and vouched for by John Johnston and Anthony Shane, is that Tecumseh, Laulewasikaw, the Prophet, and a third brother, Kumskaukau, were triplets; that Tecumseh was the youngest or last born of the three; that "this event so extraordinary among the Indian tribes, with whom a double birth is quite uncommon, struck the mind of the people as supernatural, and marked him and his brothers with the prestige of future greatness—that the Great Spirit would direct them to the achievement of something great." The date of this extraordinary event is given by most authors as 1768, making Tecumseh and the Prophet some five years the seniors of General Harrison. "They were born in a cabin or hut, constructed of round saplings chinked with sticks and clay, near the mouth of Stillwater, on the upper part of its junction with the Great Miami, then a pleasant plateau of land, with a field of corn not subject to overflow."¹⁰

Of the early life of the Prophet not much is known. "According to one account he was noted in his earlier years for stupidity and intoxication; but one day, while lighting his pipe in his cabin, he fell back apparently lifeless and remained in that condition until his friends had assembled for the funeral, when he revived from his trance, quieted their alarm, and announced that he had been conducted to the spirit world."¹¹ As an orator, he is said to have been even more powerful than Tecumseh himself, and his great influence in after years among the various tribes would seem to bear that statement out. However, he was boastful, arrogant, at times cruel, and never enjoyed the reputation for honesty and integrity that his more distinguished brother did. In personal appearance he was not prepossessing. He had lost one eye, "which defect he concealed by wearing a dark veil or handkerchief over the disfigured organ." It has been related that he was dominated to some extent by his wife, who was regarded by the Squaws at the Prophet's Town as a queen.¹²

Whole nations are at times moved with a sort of religious fervor or frenzy which extends to all ranks and stations. During

¹⁰ *A Chapter from History of the War of 1812*, Col. William Stanley Hatch,

¹¹ *Report of Bureau of American Ethnology. Handbook of American Indians*, II, 729.

¹² *Archives of Aboriginal Knowledge*. H. R. Schoolcraft, 353.

these periods strange mental phenomena are at time apparent, great social and political movements are inaugurated, and the whole complexion of affairs seems to undergo a rapid and sometimes radical change. Such a movement occurred among the Indian tribes of Ohio and those along the Wabash about the beginning of the year 1806. At this time a part of the scattered and broken remnants of the Shawnee tribe had been gathered together under the Prophet and Tecumseh at Greenville, Ohio. In November of the year before the Prophet had "assembled a considerable number of Shawnees, Wyandots, Ottawaws and Senecas, at Wapakoneta, on the Auglaize river, when he unfolded to them the new character with which he was clothed, and made his first public effort in that career of religious imposition, which in a few years was felt by the remote tribes of the upper lakes, and on the broad plains which stretch beyond the Mississippi."¹³ The appearance of the Prophet was not only highly dramatic but extremely well-timed. The savage mind was filled with gloomy forebodings. The ravages of "fire-water," the intermixture of the races, the trespassing of the white settlers on the Indian domain, and the rapid disappearance of many of the old hunting grounds, all betokened a sad destiny for the red man. Naturally superstitious, he was prepared for the advent of some divine agency to help him in his distress. No one understood this better than the Prophet. He may have been the dupe of his own imposture, but imposters are generally formidable. He was no longer Laulewasikaw, but Tenskwatawa, "The Open Door." "He affected great sanctity; did not engage in the secular duties of war or hunting; was seldom in public; devoted most of his time to fasting, the interpretation of dreams, and offering sacrifices to spiritual powers; pretended to see into futurity and to foretell events, and announced himself to be the mouth-piece of God."¹⁴

The first assemblage at Wapakoneta, was later followed by a series of pilgrimages to Greenville, which shortly spread alarm among the white settlers. Hundreds of savages flocked around the new seer from the rivers and lakes of the Northwest and even from beyond the Mississippi. In May of 1807 great numbers passed and repassed through Fort Wayne. To all these gatherings the Prophet preached the new propaganda. He denounced drunkenness, and said that he had gone up into the clouds and had seen the abode of the

¹³ *Drake's Life of Tecumseh*, 86.

¹⁴ *Archives of Aboriginal Knowledge*. H. R. Schoolcraft, 353-355.

Devil; that there he saw all the drunkards and that flames of fire continually issued from their mouths, and that all who used liquor in this world would suffer eternal torment in the next; he advocated a return to pristine habits and customs, counseling the tribes "to throw away their flints and steels, and resort to their original mode of obtaining fire by percussion. He denounced the woolen stuffs as not equal to skins for clothing; he commended the use of the bow and arrow. As to intermarriage between the races, all this was prohibited. The two races were distinct and must remain so. Neither could there be any separate or individual ownership of any of the Indian lands; these were the common heritage of all. The weak, aged and infirm were to be cherished and protected; parental authority was to be obeyed. In conclusion, he never failed to proclaim that the Great Spirit had gifted him with the divine power to "cure all diseases and to arrest the hand of death, in sickness, or on the battlefield."

The fame of the Prophet soon aroused the jealousy of many of the neighboring chiefs and medicine men. They saw their power dwindling away and their authority diminishing. They took steps to check the advancing tide of fanaticism, but were at once adroitly met by the introduction of an inquisition into witchcraft, which had been almost universally believed in by the tribes, but against which, the Prophet now hurled the most direful anathemas. He declared that any one who dealt in magic or "medicine juggleries" should never taste of future happiness, and must be instantly put to death. His deluded and awe-struck followers promptly began a systematic searching out and persecution of "witches," and all under his personal direction. The finger of the seer often pointed at a prominent warrior or chieftain, or some member of their household. The Prophet's mere denunciation was proof enough. The victim went to the torture of death by fire, or some other fate equally revolting. Among the Delawares, especially, the most shocking cruelty ensued, and finally these things came to the ears of the governor at Vincennes. He immediately sent a "speech" by special messenger to the headsmen and chiefs of the Delaware tribe, beseeching them to cast aside all fallacious doctrines, to denounce the Prophet and to drive him out of their midst. In the course of this "speech" he said: "Demand of him some proofs at least of his being the messenger of the Deity. If God has really employed him, He has doubtless authorized him to perform miracles that he may be known and received as a prophet.

If he is really a prophet, ask of him to cause the sun to stand still, the moon to alter its course, the rivers to cease to flow, or the dead to rise from their graves."¹⁵

The language of the Governor proved to be unfortunate. On June 16, 1806, there was a total eclipse of the sun in northern latitudes for a period of about five minutes, at about a half an hour before midday, and this event had long been heralded by the astronomers of that time, and had come to the ears of the Prophet through intercourse with some white friends. The crafty savage was not slow to act. He told his followers that on a certain fixed day, and at a time when the sun was at the height of its power, he would place the same under his feet, and cause darkness to come over the face of the earth. On the day announced the Prophet stood among his fearful band awaiting the hour. The day was wholly clear and without clouds, but at the appointed time the terrified savages saw a disc of blackness gradually pass over the face of the sun; the birds became agitated and flew to cover; the skulking dogs drew near their masters; almost absolute darkness fell on all about; the stars of heaven appeared in the zenith, and in the midst of it all, the Prophet exclaimed: "Did I not testify truly? Behold! Darkness has shrouded the sun."¹⁶ The account of that day, faithfully set forth by J. Fennimore Cooper, then a youth, is filled with strange relations of the unnatural appearance of all earthly things; of the sudden awe and fear that came into the minds of all; how women stood near their husbands in silence and children clung to their mothers in terror, and if these were the emotions experienced in a civilized community, made fully aware of the coming event, what must have been the impression produced on the superstitious mind of the savage, wholly unenlightened in the ways of science? From that day, the power of the savage Prophet was secure until the spell of his magic was forever broken by Harrison's soldiers at Tippecanoe.

It is not certain at what period in his career the Prophet was tempted by British gold and British overtures. President Jefferson once wrote to John Adams as follows: "I thought there was little danger in his making proselytes from the habits and comforts they had learned from the whites, to the hardships and privations of savagism, and no great harm if he did. But his followers increased until the British thought him worth corrupting, and found him cor-

¹⁵ *Eggleston's Tecumseh*, 119.

¹⁶ *Eggleston's Tecumseh*, 121.

ruptible."¹⁷ Neither is it certain at what precise period Tecumseh put his brother-priest behind him and assumed the lead. That he had cunningly pretended to have great respect and reverence while the Prophet was practicing on the superstition of the tribes; that he took no steps to stop the inquisitions which were destroying the influence of the chiefs and medicine men; that he stood ready at the opportune moment to push the brother-priest into the back-ground and form a confederacy with himself as the recognized head, will not now admit of controversy.

In 1806 Tecumseh was about thirty-eight years of age, a finished athlete, a renowned hunter, and of great reputation as a bold and fearless orator. Probably no red man ever born had a better knowledge of the various treaties that had been consummated between the races. "For all those qualities which elevate man far above his race; for talent, tact, skill, bravery as a warrior; for high-minded, honorable and chivalrous bearing as a man; in fine, for all those elements of greatness which place him a long way above his fellows in savage life, the name and fame of Tecumseh will go down to posterity in the West, as one of the most celebrated of the aborigines of this continent." This is the estimate of Judge Law.¹⁸

In his youth he had been under the tutelage of his elder brother Cheeseekau, who taught him "a love for the truth, a contempt of everything mean and sordid and the practice of those cardinal Indian virtues, courage in battle and fortitude in suffering." In one of the early Shawnee raids along the Ohio he had witnessed the burning of a white man at the stake; the scene was so horrifying to him that he made his associates promise never to torture another prisoner. The spoils of the hunt he divided with the aged and unfortunate. At the time of the Prophet's rise he had already matched his prowess in battle against such men as Simon Kenton and his associates and had proven both his skill as a tactician and his courage as a fighter.

An illustration of Tecumseh's chivalry toward his foes is pleasingly set forth in Smith's *Historical Sketches of Old Vincennes*:

Early in the year 1811, Governor Harrison, with a view to ascertaining the cause of the dissatisfaction of the Prophet, and, if possible, pacify him, deputed one of his most sagacious and trusty advisers with a competent interpreter to hold a council with him and his chiefs, embracing his

¹⁷ Eggleston's *Tecumseh*, 114-115.

¹⁸ John Law, *History of Old Vincennes*, 75.

brother warrior chief, Tecumseh. It is learned from history that these gentlemen arrived at the village one evening and were received in an apparently friendly manner by the Prophet and assigned a tent for the night with an agreed appointment for a council the next morning. It is said the Prophet's wife was considered a queen among the Indian women, as well as by her husband. Before retiring for the night the interpreter observed an unusual stir among the squaws, and motions made toward their tent, and caught menacing glances and gestures toward them, and so told the ambassador, but he made light of the matter and the interpreter's suspicions that treachery was intended, and when night came on he was soon asleep in peace and quiet. But not so with the vigilant interpreter who kept awake and had his guns near at hand. About midnight a tap was heard at the door and his name, in a Shawnee language, was called. He found Tecumseh at the door. He had called to warn him of impending assassination by the Queen and squaws, who had held a council and determined on their death in spite of the protests of himself and others who told them it would be base treachery to kill messengers of peace who were their visitors. He told the visitors to rise and go with him. They went silently through the village and down into a wooded ravine near the river, where a noise was made as if to call wild turkeys, sounds well recognized by all hunters in early days; an answer was returned, and soon two men appeared with the ambassador's horses which they speedily mounted and rode swiftly away, accompanied by the two guides furnished by Tecumseh, and were soon well on their return trip to Vincennes.¹⁹

No true portrait of this celebrated Indian is in existence. The following graphic description of him, however, is given by Stanley Hatch, who had a personal acquaintance with him in times of peace:

The general appearance of this remarkable man was uncommonly fine. His height was about five feet nine inches, judging him by my own height when standing close to him, and corroborated by the late Col. John Johnston, for many years Indian agent at Piqua. His face oval rather than angular; his nose handsome and straight; his mouth beautifully formed, like that of Napoleon I, as represented in his portraits; his eyes clear, transparent hazel, with a mild, pleasant expression when in repose, or in conversation; but when excited in his orations or by the enthusiasm of a conflict, or when in anger, they appeared like balls of fire; his teeth beautifully white, and his complexion more of a light brown or tan than red; his whole tribe as well as their kindred the Ottawaws had light complexions; his arms and hands were finely formed; his limbs straight; he always stood very erect and walked with a brisk, elastic, vigorous step; invariably dressed in Indian tanned buckskin; a perfectly well fitting hunting frock descending to the knee, and over his under clothes of the same material; the usual cape and finish of yellow fringe about the neck; cape, edges of the front opening and bottom of the frock; a belt of the same material in which were his side arms (an elegant silver-mounted toma-

¹⁹ H. M. Smith, *Historical Sketches of Old Vincennes*, 264-265.

hawk and a knife in a strong leather case); short pantaloons connected with neatly fitting leggins and moccasins with a mantle of the same material thrown over his left shoulder, used as a blanket in camp and as a protection in storms. Such was his dress when I last saw him, on the 17th of August, 1812, on the streets of Detroit; mutually exchanging tokens of recognition with former acquaintances in years of peace, and passing on, he, to see that his Indians had all crossed to Malden, as commanded, and to counsel with his white allies in regard to the next movement of the now really commenced War of 1812. He was then in the prime of life, and presented in his appearance and noble bearing one of the finest looking men I have ever seen.²⁰

The striking circumstances of his birth, the ascendancy of his brother, the Prophet; his burning hatred of the white race; his skill as a hunter and valor as a warrior; above all his wonderful eloquence and thorough knowledge of all the Indian treaties of the past, gave Teumseh an influence and authority among the tribes far beyond that of any of the braves or sachems of that day. If at the first his imagination had not dared to scale the heights of power, he later boldly threw aside all disguise, and by his powerful advocacy of a communistic ownership of all the Indian lands by the tribes in common, he aimed a blow both at the ancient authority claimed by the Indian chieftains, and at the validity of every treaty ever negotiated between the two races of men. The sum and substance of Tecumseh's doctrine is thus succinctly stated by Judge Law:

That the Great Spirit had given the Indians all their lands in common to be held by them as such and not by the various tribes who had settled on portions of it—claiming it as their own. That they were mere squatters having no "pre-emption right," but holding even that on which they lived as mere "tenants in common" with all the other tribes. That this mere possession gave them no title to convey the land without the consent of all. That no single tribe had the right to sell, that the power to sell was not vested in their chief, but must be the act of the warriors in council assembled of all the tribes, as the land belonged to all—no portion of it to any single tribe.²¹

If these tenets were to hold, it was clear that any authority claimed by the chiefs to represent their respective tribes in the sale or barter of any of the Indian domain was without foundation; that any treaty not negotiated and ratified by a common council of all the warriors of all the tribes, was null and void; that Wayne's Treaty of 1795 was *nullum pactum*; that the claim of the white settlers to

²⁰ Wm. Stanley Hatch, *A Chapter of the History of the War of 1812*, 113-115.

²¹ John Law, *History of Vincennes*, 81.

any of the lands north of the Ohio was without force, and that they were trespassers and mere licensees from the beginning. The doctrine thus enunciated was not entirely new. Tarhe, or the Crane, Chief of the Wyandots, had announced at Greenville: "I now tell you, that no one in particular can justly claim this ground; it belongs, in common, to us all; no earthly being has an exclusive right to it."²² But the plausible eloquence of Tecumseh, coming at a time when the star of the red man was setting; when every passing day witnessed the encroachment of the white settlers, gave a new ray of hope to the fainting tribes. The warriors, carried away by the dreams and incantations of the Prophet, and sustained by the burning words of a new leader, who promised them a restoration of their former glory, cast aside with contempt all the articles and solemn agreements of the past, and were ready to take up the tomahawk in patriotic defense of their lands and homes. Thus did Tecumseh look forward to the establishment of "a great and permanent confederation—an empire of red men, of which he should be the leader and emperor."

²² John Dillon, *History of Indiana*, 361.

Reviews and Notes

The Scotch-Irish in America. BY HENRY JONES FORD. Princeton University Press. 1915. pp. 607.

IN this single volume Professor Ford gives a good estimate and summary account of that racial strain in the American population known as the "Scotch-Irish." It is the stock that has produced in the South such men as the Calhouns, the Houstons, the Jacksons, and Johnstons, and the Clarks, and in the North and West such men as the McKinleys, the Logans, the McClellans, the Kirkwoods, and the McDonalds and a host of others whose ancestors, through their fighting and pioneer spirit, helped to win the frontier for civilization. The story of the life of these people is told from the time of the Scotch plantation in Ulster in 1609 to the influences they are now exerting on current American life.

It is only toward the end of his volume that the author notices the controversy over the definition of the term "Scotch-Irish." He quotes the distinctions of John Fiske and Henry Cabot Lodge between the Scotch-Irish and the Irish pure and simple; and he makes his text refer to that "indisputable breed of people in the north of Ireland introduced there by the Ulster Plantation." They were of the Scottish people who had been living in Ireland. When they came to America they were called "Irish," but they claimed to be Scotch. While the Ulster Plantation was designed for an English settlement, the English settlers there were soon absorbed by the Scottish element. So the author holds the use of the term "Scotch-Irish" to be not only justifiable but required by accuracy as a description of a distinct race stock.* The English and Scotch settlers in North Ireland treated the native Irish a good deal as our American frontier settlers treated the Indians. They felt that they had to "defend the borders and fortresses and suppress the Irish." Professor Ford gives us a brief account of the lands and life of these people and of their conflicts and customs in Ulster. He then proceeds to discuss in interesting and effective pages the religious and moral customs of the Scotch-Irish; their relations to the English government, the causes of their migration to America; the centers where they set-

tled; their relation to the Indians, their influence on American independence and American education and of their importance as a factor in American history. They were the first to stand up in the cause of American independence, as shown in their Mecklenburg resolutions in North Carolina; and their ministry and people were always foremost and active in promoting the cause of education. The volume shows the Scotch-Irish to be largely the source of American Presbyterianism; among the boldest in extending the western confines of civilization; among the bravest and most effective fighters in the Indian wars; and among the militant patriots in the building of the nation and in the Revolutionary and other wars of the Republic. Pennsylvania, as the Scotch-Irish center is given due prominence but the expansion of the stock "South and West" relates too exclusively to Virginia. The work deals chiefly with the work of Presbyterian ministers and the planting of Presbyterian churches and schools, and the descriptive accounts relate largely to persons and localities as types of character and influence. The Reformed and Seceding Presbyterian bodies appear to go unnoticed and the great part played by Scotch-Irish influences and settlements in the Piedmont and up-land regions of the Carolinas and their migrations and settlements beyond the Alleghanies by neighborhoods and congregations are almost entirely neglected. So noticeable is this that the work might not unfairly be entitled "The Scotch-Irish in America on the Middle and North Atlantic Sea Board."

The subject of the volume is not easy for comprehensive treatment. Within its scope it is a valuable and desirable study, of interest to all who care for American history and especially to all Americans of Scotch-Irish stock. The Appendix of the volume contains a full list of authorities, a list of the "Scottish Undertakers" in Ulster, the "Mecklenburg Resolves" and other material of value. The author has placed thousands of Americans under obligations to him for this work.

J. A. W.

¹ The Scotch-Irish in Ireland usually speak of themselves as "Ulster Scots." They are usually of the Presbyterian faith. The fullest and best account of the history and achievements of the Scotch-Irish in their Irish home is to be found in Rev. James B. Woodburn's volume on *The Ulster Scot* (1913?). Mr. Woodburn is a scholarly Presbyterian Minister in Castle Rock, Ireland. See also James A. Woodburn's *Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in Monroe County, Indiana*, for a tracing of the connection between the Scotch-Irish in Ulster to one of their typical frontier settlements in western America.

Circuit Rider Days in Indiana. BY WILLIAM WARREN SWEET, Professor of History in Depauw University. W. K. Stewart Co., Indianapolis, pp. 344.

SOME years ago Dr. Sweet came into possession of the official records of the old Indiana Conference. The first session of this conference met at New Albany, October 17, 1832, with eighteen circuit riders present and Bishop Joshua Soule in the chair. The last session was held at Crawfordsville, October 18, 1843, with Bishop James O. Andrew presiding and Matthew Simpson secretary. There were ninety-three preachers ready to answer the first roll call. The minutes published by Dr. Sweet thus cover a period of eleven years. The great problem of the church during this period was organization. As the settlements spread to the north the church had to gather its adherents into classes, circuits, and districts. In the first conference there were five districts, one being missionary. Eleven years later there were sixteen districts. This period of remarkable growth is covered by the book under review. Besides the ordinary work of the church its principal activities during the period were the organization of Sunday schools, furnishing Bibles to the settlers, publishing tracts and newspapers and missionary work. It was an endless task to finance the work. Not only must the working circuit riders be supplied but money had to be raised for missions, suppression of vice, negro colonization, aid of superannuated preachers and widows, and various other purposes, not the least of which was education. Covering this period as it does, these minutes furnish one of the best sources for early Indiana history. In publishing them Dr. Sweet has put all the people of Indiana in his debt and especially is this true of the Methodists.

The first ninety pages of the book are occupied with a historical introduction in which the history of the church is brought down to 1832. In the preparation of this Dr. Sweet has had the advantage of the large collection of material in Depauw University Library including a complete file of the *Western Christian Advocate*. The history of the pioneer Methodist church in Indiana is the story of a valiant struggle. Preparing this has been a labor of love for Dr. Sweet. He has done it well.

History of the Illinois Central Railroad to 1870. BY HOWARD GRAY BROWNSON, Ph.D., sometime fellow in economics, University of Illinois. University of Illinois Studies in the Social Science, Vol IV, Nos. 3 and 4. Urbana: University of Illinois, 1915. 182 p. \$1.25.

ONE of the most promising tendencies in the study of history in the American colleges is the devotion of more and more time to local topics, especially the history of those events or institutions whose influences are still with us. The Illinois Central Railroad has played a leading part in the material and political, and perhaps in the social, development of Illinois. Dr. Brownson has performed a work of permanent social and political value in thus historically acquainting the people of Illinois with their greatest railway. The Illinois Central is the first of the land-grant railroads and when the history of the railroads of the United States is written the author will find ready to hand an adequate history of this one.

Dr. Brownson has divided his thesis into six chapters. The first deals with "Illinois in 1850" in which he gives an economic review of the State; the second chapter deals with "The Land Grant and the Charter." The State was confronted at the time with a peculiar situation. It had wasted considerable resources in attempting to carry out a system of Internal Improvements by the State. There was a strong party demanding that the State also use this land grant itself in building a State road, but it was decided to turn the grant over to a private corporation which successfully built the road. The third chapter describes the building of the charter lines; the fourth chapter deals with the "Development of the System;" the fifth chapter takes up the question of "Traffic, 1857-1870." This chapter forms an excellent economic history of the period. When the road was projected most of the produce was marketed at New Orleans, hence it was intended to make the main terminal at Cairo. The road soon had to face about and prepare to carry its freight to Chicago. The last chapter deals with the "Finances and Financing of the Road." The subject is thus far more than merely local. The author has used the official reports and other contemporary sources. It is a very valuable and readable contribution.

L. F.

Indiana, A Social and Economic Survey. BY FRANCES DOAN STREIGHTOFF, A. M., and FRANK HATCH STREIGHTOFF, Ph.D., Professor of Economics in Depauw University. With a Chapter on Charities and Correction by CECIL CLARE NORTH, Ph.D., Professor of Sociology in Depauw University. Indianapolis: W. K. Stewart Company, 1916, pp. 261.

THE following from the preface indicates the nature of the volume: "In these pages there will be found a concise description of Indiana as she is and of the problems she faces." The twelve chapter headings are as follows: Physical Basis; Trees; Agriculture; Manufactures; Transportation; Labor; Labor Legislation; Government; Finances; Constitution; Charities and Correction; Education. These topics are treated from the standpoint of the economist and not from that of history or literature. The authors tell their story pointedly and without praise or blame. Enough of the history of each subject is given to show the attitude of the people and the present situation. The authors have depended for their data almost exclusively on official documents of the State and United States, using the United States Census very freely. There are eight State maps showing the distribution of various products. The book furnishes a valuable complement to the many State histories now being put on the market.

Centennial History of Indiana for Schools and for Teachers' Institutes. BY HUBERT M. SKINNER, Ph.D. Former Assistant Superintendent of Public Instruction of Indiana, Founder of Lincoln Day Observances by Schools and Clubs. Chicago: Atkinson, Mentzer and Company, 1916, pp. 102.

THIS is a brief summary of the State's history. The author divides his subject into six parts or, as he calls them, periods. These are the "Aboriginal," "French Colonial," "British Colonial," "Revolutionary," "Territorial," and "Statehood" periods. These periods are not considered as of equal importance. The last one occupies one third of the book. The book opens with the poem, "Song of the Old Sac Trail," by the author, and closes with a "School Song of Indiana," by the author. The volume is necessarily a brief summary of the main features of our State history. Too large a portion, sixty-three out of one hundred pages, is devoted to the period before 1816. The last half century is disposed of in six

pages. Aside from the inclusion of several questionable incidents, such as the bravado of Captain Helm at Vincennes and the ruse of displaying flags and counter-marching by which Clark is said to have deceived Colonel Hamilton, a careful critical treatment has been preserved. The general tone of the book is, as it should be, one of praise for the men and women who have made our State. It is a readable book and should meet with a hearty reception by Indians.

Forms of City Government. BY FRANK G. BATES, Ph.D. Associate Professor of Political Science, Indiana University, Indiana Bureau of Legislative Information, Bulletin No. 5. Indianapolis, 1916, pp. 27.

THIS is a pamphlet on the problems of city government. The Federal, Commission, and Commission-Manager plans are described. The author is not interested in any propaganda and does not specifically advocate any plan of city government. His object is to set forth plainly and accurately the features of each plan and so far as possible how each has succeeded where tried. Cities are named where each plan is in operation so that any one interested may secure further information. A select bibliography is given.

Indiana Centennial Patriotic Arbor and Bird Day Manual. BY ELIJAH A. GLADDEN, Secretary Indiana State Board of Forestry. Indianapolis, 1916, p. 52.

THIS is a contribution of the State Board of Forestry toward the celebration of the Centennial. The proclamations of the governor, a number of selections from Woodrow Wilson, Lincoln, Jefferson, Hale, Patrick Henry, Webster, Scott, and others, are included. A list of the native trees of the State is given, a chapter on the care of trees, one on the appreciation of forests, and a number of poems such as the "Old Apple Tree," "When the Green Gits Back in the Trees." It is a beautiful little pamphlet, well illustrated.

History of Education in Iowa. BY CLARENCE RAY AURNER, Ph.D., Iowa State Historical Society. Iowa City, 1916. Vols. III and IV. pp. xii+464; xi+471.

IN volume III Dr. Aurner takes up the secondary schools. In this field there was a noticeable lack of unity or system. This fact

makes it impossible to unify the volume as was done in the preceding and succeeding volumes. The author was fortunate in having practically all the source material for his work in the library of the State Historical Society. A glance at the chapter headings will give one the best idea of the scope of the volume. Part I deals with the incorporated academies. The earliest of these was at Dubuque in 1838. These were separately incorporated and each pursued its independent course. The author singles out as the best example of these the "Denmark Academy." Part II deals with the unincorporated academies. These were generally private ventures. There were separate schools for boys and girls. In the later period of the unincorporated academies, towns and other communities organized public schools similar to the private ones. Part III deals with the special schools, the private normals and business colleges. These seem to have been the forerunners of the professional schools. Part IV deals with secondary schools under sectarian domination. Part V is devoted to the public high school. The different phases of this movement are discussed under the county high school, the township high school, and the district high school. There are eight chapters to this part and it is perhaps the most satisfactory division of the volume. Part VI is devoted entirely to a historical discussion of the courses of study.

Volume IV takes up the history of the three State institutions for higher learning; the State University at Iowa City, the State College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts at Ames and the State Teachers College at Cedar Falls. The volume contains a brief history of each of these institutions and offers little ground for comment by the reviewer. The problems of the schools are indicated but for the most part the author has been content to trace the growth of the institutions entirely from the historical standpoint. The State is to be congratulated on the character of the work so far published.

My Story of the Civil War and Underground Railroad. By M. B. BUTLER, First Lieutenant Co. A, 44th Indiana. The United Brethren Publishing Company, Huntington, Ind. pp. 390.

THIS is a simple straightforward story, full of conversation and color. The writer experienced the usual vicissitudes of the soldier's life and has attempted to tell them in detail. The author was a native of Vermont, born February 15, 1834. Practically all of his life was spent at his farm home in Salem township, Steuben county,

where he died June 17, 1914. His book was not published until after his death.

The New Regime, 1765-1767. Collections of the Illinois State Historical Society, Volume XI; British Series, Volume II. Edited with Introduction and notes by CLARENCE WALWORTH ALVORD, University of Illinois, and CLARENCE EDWIN CARTER, Miami University. Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield. pp. xxviii+700.

THIS is a companion volume to the *Critical Period* which appeared last year. The present volume contains documents covering the period from February, 1765, to July, 1767. The same general plan of the series has been preserved. A twenty-eight page Introduction gives the historical setting after which follow without individual introduction the various papers. Ample footnotes explain the text. The papers are divided into ten chapters as follows: "George Croghan's Journal, Feb. 28-Oct. 8, 1865;" "Occupation of Fort de Chartres, July 24-Nov. 16, 1765;" "The Completion of the Occupation, Dec. 13, 1765-April 6, 1766;" "Plans for a Colony, March 9-May 10, 1766;" "Conflicting Plans, May 10-June 15, 1766;" "The Rendezvous at the Illinois, June 18-July 18, 1766;" "The Trade and Colonial Plans Progress, July 30-Oct. 11, 1766;" "The Value of the Illinois Country, Nov. 21, 1766-Feb. 24, 1767;" "Discussion of the Indian Trade, March 1-July 15, 1767." The documents relate principally to the transfer of government at Fort Chartres, the projected colony at the Illinois, and the trade of the country. They include journals of such men as George Croghan, correspondence of Sir William Johnson, William Franklin, Gage, Shelburne, Haldimand, Conway, and the traders Baynton, Wharton and Morgan, official proclamations and instructions, plans for a colony, petitions for land grants, and official records. As with the other volumes the work seems to be carefully and accurately done, though, of course, the reviewer has not the means at hand to test their accuracy.

Centennial History of Washington County, Indiana, Its People, Industries and Institutions. By WARDER W. STEVENS. B. F. Bowen and Company, Indianapolis, 1916, pp. 1060.

MR. STEVENS was editor of the *Salem Democrat* for many years, during which time he took an especial interest in collecting material

on the county history. During those years many stories and much biographical data were published in his paper. He also got together one of the best collections of pioneer relics in the State. Mr. Stevens is a graduate of Indiana University, class of 1867, a pioneer by instinct, and in sympathy with pioneer customs and characteristics. All these qualities have enabled him to prepare a good history. This is especially true of those parts of the book which treat of the lives of the early settlers. This part of his work and that which deals with pioneer biography are better than those which deal with institutional development. Whatever may be its historical value, the traditional or personal side of history will doubtless always remain most interesting and in this field Mr. Stevens is best. Altogether it is a good resume of the county history.

Perry County, A History. By THOMAS JAMES DE LA HUNT. The W. K. Stewart Company, Indianapolis, 1916, pp. 359.

THIS is not an ordinary county history, prepared by a publishing house and sold on subscription. It has no subscribers and consequently no formal biographies. The author's father, mother, and his maternal grandparents were for two-thirds of a century in the front rank of Perry county citizens. Perhaps no one in his day had a wider circle of friends and acquaintances than the author's grandfather, Joshua Huckaby. Mr. De la Hunt, the author, is a graduate of the University of the South, a man of wide culture and fine literary ability. Writing this history has been a pleasant pastime with him for perhaps a score of years. He is acquainted with the old folks and the young folks; every old house, old farm, and old church in the county, especially in the southern half, has a personal relation. Mr. De la Hunt has not stopped with the artistic side of his work, nor yet with the personal. Both these have been held firmly in hand by the demands of history. No clue has been too difficult nor too slight to prevent his making an effort to reach the truth at the end, and when he fails, as all investigators must at times, he frankly says so. The traditions of our people have been handled in a friendly way, but when historical proof failed we are told so and exactly at what point. The story of Robert Fulton's residence in the county, the shipwreck of Lafayette, the Lincoln tradition, are all treated satisfactorily. The author had collected a large amount of historical material relating to his county, among

this being a file of newspapers reaching back to the middle of the last century. Perry county offered an attractive field for the historian. Its early settlers along the river from Rono to Troy were of the picturesque squatter type from Kentucky interspersed with frequent scions of the good old Virginia families. Among these came adventurers from New England interested in the natural resources, coal, clay, etc., and bringing with them the thrift and genius of the Yankees; then came capitalists with visions of wealth through a union of the cotton of the south and the fuel and labor of the north by means of the noble river as the highway between. Later, just in time to feel the shock of the Civil War, came the Swiss and established Tell City. The French located at Leopold in the heart of the county. In the north central part was a colony straight from Erin, all good honest folk. The county sent men to the War of 1812, the Mexican War and the Civil War. During the latter war armed enemies were not unknown in its border. All these incidents have given the author an opportunity to write an interesting volume. No one who reads all or any chapter of Mr. De la Hunt's book will fail to realize that he has done his work satisfactorily.

Early Negro Deportation Projects. By H. N. SHERWOOD, Ph. D.
Reprinted from the Mississippi Valley Historical Review II,
March, 1916.

THIS is a part of Dr. Sherwood's doctorate thesis. The author discusses the different colonial associations organized to assist the early freed or emancipated negroes. There were plans to colonize them in the Northwest, others such as Ferdinando Fairfax proposed founding a foreign colony under the protection of the United States. The sentiment finally culminated in the colony of Liberia. It is an interesting monograph though entirely without the field of Indiana History.

THE TIPTON COUNTY CENTENNIAL COMMITTEE as a part of its celebration has issued a small booklet giving a biography of General John Tipton. Besides this the booklet contains a brief account of the settling of Tipton county. It was prepared by Ebert Allison, for use in the schools. It is a commendable way to set the main facts of local history before the school children. The Tipton county committee is rightly laying most stress on the dissemination of local history among the citizens of the county.

JAMES W. SANSBERRY, of Madison county, has issued a beautiful little pamphlet entitled *Pioneer Recollections of Early Indiana*. It is a mere sketch of nine pages devoted to the daily life of the pioneers of early Madison county. It is very well written, and a worthy tribute.

THE NATIONAL HIGHWAYS COMMISSION of Washington, D. C., has recently prepared a series of maps showing the roads which it is interested in. Several of these roads cross Indiana. The "National Parks Transcontinental" crosses the State by way of Fort Wayne, South Bend and Hammond; the "Dixie" by way of South Bend, Indianapolis, and New Albany and from Covington through Indianapolis to Richmond; the "International Pavedway" from Detroit to Laredo crosses Indiana by Fort Wayne, Bluffton, Marion, Kokomo and Lafayette, with a branch from South Bend to Lafayette; the "Pike's Peak" crosses by way of Richmond, Indianapolis and Montezuma; the "Old Trails Road" crosses by the National Road from Richmond to Terre Haute; the "Midland" uses the old Vincennes-New Albany pike; the "Lincoln Highway" follows the "National Parks" road from Fort Wayne to Valparaiso, then leaves the state by way of Chicago Heights. The Commission also sends out a colored map, showing the improved roads in Indiana.

A SERIES of postcards with pictures of persons and places noted in Indiana has recently been issued by Max Hyman, of Indianapolis. Some of the cards contain rare maps. They are printed on a good grade of paper and make an excellent appearance. They would be especially helpful to teachers.

THE *Catholic Historical Review* commenced its second volume with the April number. The articles of most interest to Indiana readers are "The Lost Province of Quivira" and "The Attitude of Spain During the American Revolution." Neither deals directly with any phase of State history.

THE *Tennessee Historical Magazine* for March, 1916, has as its leading article a discussion of the "Public School System of Tennessee from 1834 to 1860," by A. P. Whitaker. The larger part of the number is occupied with the "Diaries of S. H. Loughlin," 1840-1843.

THE *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for April contains an article by Thomas Teakle on "The Romance of Iowa History," a biography of Samuel R. Thurston, by Hiram F. White. Miss Ruth Gallaher continues her article on "Indian Agents."

THE *Indiana University Alumni Quarterly* for April is book size. Dr. Woodburn's "Sketches from the University's History" is the leading article. All alumni enjoy these, but few realize when reading the professor's fluent English the amount of hard "digging" he has to do to furnish the data used. The bulk of the magazine is made of Foundation Day reports.

THE *White County Democrat* of May 5, 1916, has a brief but accurate biography of Gen. Robert H. Milroy, the fifth circuit judge to preside of the circuit court of White county. This biography is one of a series including all the judges who have served in that capacity. These biographies have been prepared by Attorney W. H. Hamelle, of Monticello. Mr. Hamelle has recently written a history of White county and is now county manager of the centennial celebration.

THE *Columbus Evening Journal*, March 22, 1916, has a page map of Indiana showing the improved roads. The map was copy-righted by the B. F. Goodrich Company.

THE ninth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held April 27, 28, 29, at Nashville, Tennessee.

THE following members were elected at the meeting of the executive committee of Indiana Historical Society, April 15, 1916: J. A. Abell, A. D. Babcock, Mary C. Burhans, Mary E. Cox, Mrs. Elizabeth Mackenzie Fletcher (Mrs. Horace Hines Fletcher), Simpson A. Frazier, A. F. Knotts, Mrs. M. Levering, W. S. McMasters, John Overmyer, E. H. Richardson, Archibald Shaw, E. W. Swarthout, George R. Wilson. At same meeting the resignation was reported and accepted of Mrs. Roscoe O. Hawkins.

LOUISIANA RECORDS

There has been some hope among Indiana historians that records at New Orleans might throw some light on the early settlements in

Indiana. The following quotation from a letter from William Beer, librarian of the Howard Memorial Library of New Orleans, will give some idea of the possibility of aid in that direction:

I can offer you little hope from descendants of the early French pioneers who may live in New Orleans, the source from which something is to be had, is in a wonderful collection of documents now in the Cabildo, the property of the State, which has lain for 150 years only imperfectly examined. The pioneer examiner stated that they were only notarial records; the next examiner found some family documents, but said they were not of much account any way. They were in such disorder that it was not even detected that the boxes bore inscriptions which it has been discovered gives the dates approximately of the documents contained therein.

About 18 months ago there came to the city a Mr. Price, a man whose education had fitted him marvelously to calendar these documents. He had been engaged with Thwaites editing the *Jesuit Relations*. The Louisiana Historical Society had very small funds, but it managed with the assistance of some wealthy friends to scrape up \$50.00 a month which, while not adequate remuneration for such exceptional work, was at all events far more than Mr. Price had been earning for some time. Unfortunately the society was unable to increase the remuneration, and Mr. Price, considering it undignified to do the work for the sum available, gave it up and left the city. He had fortunately thoroughly examined at least 20 of the boxes at an average cost, I think, of \$70.00 a box, and there are about 100. The resources of the society unassisted would provide a maximum of \$400 a year for the purpose, so it is evident that the work had to come to a standstill. These twenty boxes may be seen through his calendaring to consist largely of papers used before the Conseil General as a judicial body. They run from about 1702 before its creation to 1780 after its development in the Cabildo.

THE TIPPECANOE RIVER chapter of the D. A. R. at Bourbon celebrated the centennial by gathering together at the home of Charles W. Keller an assortment of relics and other articles of the community, over a century old. The exhibit filled the large house. The list of articles covered the whole range of property and is vastly too long to be mentioned in detail here. A full account appears in the Bourbon *Indiana News-Mirror* of March 9, 1916.

DABNEY FAMILY

The following letter from Dr. E. B. Dabney, of Atlanta, Mo., is printed in the hope that it will reach other members of the family in Indiana:

DEAR SIR :

Yours of 23rd received and beg to state that I am unable to give the county of or exact date that William or Benjamin or Samuel Dabney located in Indiana. It has been handed down to our family that all the Dabneys in the United States are descendants of three brothers who emigrated from France and settled in this country about 1685, one in the East, the other two in Virginia. My great grandfather, Nathan Dabney, Sr., left Bedford county, Virginia, about 1810 and emigrated to southern Kentucky, later on, about 1830, moving to Macon county, Missouri. It is said he had two brothers, William and Benjamin, who moved to Indiana about the time he left Virginia. If we can find any Dabneys in Indiana they are liable to be closely related to our family. Thanking you for favors extended, I remain,

Yours fraternally,

E. B. DABNEY,

Atlanta, Macon county, Missouri.

February 24, 1916.

Minor Notices

THE GAME OF GANDER PULLING.

(By an Octogenarian.)

[Descriptions of this same amusement may be found in previous numbers of the INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY. This description comes from Spencer county and its significance lies in that it shows the game was widespread in early Indiana.—Ed.]

AMONG the amusements in which our ancestors of a hundred years or more ago indulged occasionally was one called "Gander Pulling," which, though it may be called cruel, was not such as involved human beings, as only a poor gander lost his life. The game consisted in the effort to pull off the gander's head, the winner to get a small sum of money, put up for the occasion. The gander's neck was stripped of feathers and thoroughly greased. Then the poor bird was tied by his feet to the lower limb of a tree, just high enough to be reached by a man on horseback. The judges, or umpires, were selected from among the bystanders, to make the award, and to see that the game was played fairly. The branch to which the bird was hung had to be as long, strong and springy as possible, and every contestant had to ride without a saddle, with his horse at a gallop. Some twenty or thirty feet from the bird, a man was stationed on each side of the track, armed with a long switch, whose business it was to see that no rider should check the speed of his horse as he came near the bird. Imagine the frightened gander swinging wildly, and fanning his wings in mid-air in his efforts to escape, and one can easily see that a rider would have quite as many chances to miss the bird's neck entirely, as to grasp it. Every such failure, of course, provoked the merriment of the bystanders. Sometimes, too, a rider would lose his balance and fall from his horse because he hung to the gander too long, and thus in addition to some bruises, he lost his place in the game, which was mirth provoking, also for the crowd. Finally some tall fellow with one hand holding to the horse's mane and leaning forward as far as possible, would seize

the poor bird's head, giving it a sudden twist would break its neck, and then probably the man who followed would be able to take off the bird's head. It was not so much a contest for the purse, as for the rollicking fun that resulted, and as to cruelty, it was innocence itself, compared to a modern game of football.

The foregoing sketch is made up from descriptions given by ancestors and their friends during the writer's boyhood days [in Spencer county], and is new to the younger generation, in most particulars.

ISSAC MCCOY

THE following letter concerning Rev. Isaac McCoy, a pioneer missionary among Indiana Indians, is of interest:

"I am a grand-daughter of Rev. Isaac McCoy and great-grand-daughter of Mrs. Charles Polk, who was captured by Indians at Kinchelo Station, Kentucky.

"My grandfather McCoy died when I was six years old, but I remember him, especially his dignity and his gentleness. We, his descendants here, regard him as a truly great man. I have only one of his books, *The History of Indiana Missions*. His other works are in a vault in the State Capitol of Kansas, which vault was built especially to preserve them. He was never a resident of Kansas, only sojourning there for a brief period while establishing a mission for the Indians, but the State Historical Society asked for the privilege of keeping the books and my father consented.

"Did you know that my grandfather, Isaac McCoy, named a stream near Elkhart, Indiana, 'Christiana,' for his wife? and that a lake, mills, launch and a club all bear this name? He wrote when he called this hitherto unnamed stream for his wife, that the clear, placid, cheery little brook made him think of her, so he deemed it a fitting title."

NELLIE MCCOY HARRIS,

3000A Olive Street, Kansas City, Mo.

GEN. WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON BEADLE

GENERAL BEADLE died at Los Angeles, California, Nov. 13, 1915. He was a member of a large pioneer family of Parke county. He graduated from the University of Michigan in 1861. He entered the war as a private in the 31st Indiana and came out a brigadier general in the Ninth Corps. After the war he studied

law. Gen. Grant appointed him surveyor general of Dakota, and four years later superintendent of schools. He served in the legislature of South Dakota, where he was instrumental in adopting the Indiana school system for that state. For twenty years he was president of the South Dakota Normal School at Madison. Four years ago he resigned and retired from active work. There is a good biography of him in the *Rockville Republican* of Nov. 17, 1915.

THAD BUTLER.

THAD BUTLER, "dean of Wabash Valley Editors," died at his home in Huntington, Dec. 7, 1915. He was born at Lagrange, Indiana, Nov. 19, 1846. His mother was a teacher and gave her son a good education. He spent his life from boyhood in newspaper offices. He set the first line of type for the *Kendallville Standard* in 1863. Later he worked on, edited or owned papers at Wabash, Lafayette, Fort Wayne, Cleveland, Andrews, and Huntington. An excellent biography of Mr. Butler, prepared by himself some years ago, is given in the *Huntington Press*, December 8, 1915.

DANIEL McDONALD

DANIEL McDONALD, who was the oldest living past grand master of Indiana Masons, for thirty years editor of the *Plymouth Democrat* and an author of note on Masonic subjects, died January 10 in Chicago, where for the past two years he had been living with his son Louis. He was 83 years old. Mr. McDonald was the thirtieth Grand Master of the Indiana Grand Lodge of Masons, serving at the head of the body in 1875-76. He was twice in the State Legislature, once in 1869 and again in 1905. He was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention in 1876 and in 1884, and was the Democratic candidate for Congress in his district in 1880. He sold his interest in the *Plymouth Democrat* in 1902 and retired from active business. Mr. McDonald wrote a history of Freemasonry in Indiana. He also was one of the editors of a compendium of Masonic history in the United States. He was born near Connersville, Ind., May 6, 1833.

CHARLES T. AKIN

CHARLES T. AKIN, age sixty- seven, formerly state senator from Sullivan county and a banker, died December 16, 1915, in Carlisle. Mr. Akin was born at Carlisle on October 27, 1848. His parents were Ransom W. and Sarah R. Sedgwick Akin. His education was obtained in the Carlisle public schools and at the Union Christian College at Merom, Ind. He began clerking in his father's general merchandise store when he was fifteen years old, afterward becoming a partner with his father and a brother, J. T. Akin. He owned the business at his death and also was a large land owner. In politics, Mr. Akin was a Democrat. He formerly was a member of the Carlisle school board and was elected to the Indiana house of representatives for the sessions 1880-1882. In 1891-1893 he was state senator, representing Sullivan and Greene counties. Mr. Akin was a member of the special committee which framed the first salary bill for the payment of county officers. He also was on the finance committee for the State Tax Bill.

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INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

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INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

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No. 3

Development of the City School System of Indiana—1851-1880 *

By HAROLD LITTELL, A.B., Logansport, Ind.

THE EARLY CITY SCHOOLS

OUR present system of public education had its legal foundation in the constitution of 1851. Previous to this, schools were almost wholly private enterprises. In a sense, there were some schools which approached our present system in form, but not in practice. Such schools were kept up by private subscriptions from those who had children to send. And, indeed, that day has not yet entirely passed, as far as secondary training is concerned. Our private normals and colleges of today are nothing more than the outgrowth of the old system of "no taxes, but a tuition for those who attend."

This old idea of maintaining schools took firm root. It was very difficult in some portions of the State to break away from the old and take up the new method by taxation. At Greencastle, for example, in 1856 the people sent to Asbury University and the Female Seminary. The public schools amounted to nothing. Corydon, the old State capital, was in the same condition, as the following statement will show:

"The free school system is accomplishing very little for this place. The amount of school fund is so small, that it really does no good. Citizens are in favor of good schools, but prefer—the prominent ones—sup-

*The footnotes have been omitted in printing this paper. The study is based almost entirely on the official reports of the State superintendent, the files of the *Indiana School Journal*, and current newspapers.—Ed.

porting private schools, to paying tax that instruction may be free. There is a large and flourishing Seminary in operation, under the charge of Mr. Bone, an experienced and efficient teacher."

The attitude of the people was further exemplified in the case of Rockport, another southern county seat.

"Rockport is a pretty, thriving town of 1,800 inhabitants. The majority of inhabitants are opposed to a tax necessary to erection of a good school house. Still, Rockport sustains schools and good ones, too. Mr. Smith taught the High School—a private establishment—aided by Miss Turgison. Rockport expended nearly \$2,000 during that year for private tuition."

In 1857 Princeton had two schools in operation—Princeton Academy under H. T. Martin, and another under Mr. Bird, both private enterprises. Citizens supported these schools liberally. No free schools yet existed. In 1857 Anderson had no free schools. Said the State Superintendent in regard to Peru in 1857: "A courthouse costing \$5,000, and not a school house in the place." At Ladoga public schools were in bad condition. An old log house, and a poor school, was the best they had for a free school.

While this condition existed in many places, others were making feeble efforts even though unsuccessful. Such cities would levy the taxes but were burdened to collect them. The report of the State Superintendent for 1856 gives us an idea of this:

"We have the statistics from one city in this State, in which \$6,000 was assessed, and about \$600 of it was taken according to law by the county officers for fees, and it is the same all over the State where taxes are levied for school purposes."

Again, in other places it seems that the general school interest was lacking. For example, Sullivan, a county seat, had (1857) but a small amount of educational spirit. This was manifested by the condition of the schools and the school building. Of the latter there was nothing deserving the name. The schools were kept in a miserable, dilapidated old building which had formerly been the County Seminary. It was illy suited to the purposes of teaching, and was uncomfortable in the last degree. It was really a disgrace to the place, and, most fortunately for its reputation, stood in the rear of the town so that it was not likely to be seen unless

especially inquired for. Mr. G. Anderson was the teacher in charge, and seemed disposed to do his duty if the house and its furnishings had only let him.

Madison, too, once the pioneer city in the State in the free school cause, had for two years (1855-1856) pursued so illiberal a policy, that she had literally starved out her schools. Her former fine high school had been gradually reduced to the grade of a grammar school; the appropriations were reduced, until finally the schools were stopped.

In 1857 educational conditions at Muncie were deplorable. There had been two public schools supported three months, but they were only a farce. Not on account of the fault of the teachers, but because all the children in the town, of every grade, were crowded into the small school houses, rendering it impossible for any teacher to effect an organization that would work harmoniously. The State Superintendent spoke of the *Terre Haute* schools as follows:

"*Terre Haute*, one of the largest cities in the State, presents the least hopeful prospects in regard to public education. The shortsighted policy which has marked the course of this city in regard to schools, does and will continue to affect unfavorably her prosperity. At this day (1857) a city of eight or ten thousand inhabitants, without public spirit enough to support free schools, has little prospect of growth or pecuniary prosperity."

Another *Wabash* city seemed to be affected similarly. *Vincennes* had some 2,000 inhabitants. In educational matters there was generally a great delinquency. Public schools were kept open three or four months, until the school funds were exhausted, when numerous private enterprises sprang up during the summer, to give way again in turn for the annual dispensation of a few dollars from the general school fund. At *Crawfordsville* free schools were in session.

"We had a fine opportunity to see how things are done up there. Two of the 'City Fathers' visited schools with us, and seemed much edified but not proud of their schools. A few notes taken on the spot when filled out by the reader's imagination, will give an idea of what we saw; First room, size 14 x 16, benches, broken chairs, and boards laid from one chair to another, constituted seats. Stands, tables, and boards poorly nailed together, constituted desks. No order but disorder—class in a huddle for want of room; floor dirty; classes disorderly; recite and read badly; thump! thump! goes the stick, with most positive orders to behave, every half-minute; one boy putting a stick into another's ears; children seem

to enjoy themselves well—think it's all right. The second room was an old paint shop, deserted by workmen, hence made a good school room. Room large, but floor covered with mud."

Notwithstanding all this, several of the more progressive towns were able to get their schools under way from the very beginning. In such towns were invariably found city officials greatly interested in the public school work. The leaders were able to unify and lead the people, and results followed.

In 1856 the public schools of Indianapolis had a May festival at the State fair grounds. Parents and others were invited. Between 1,500 and 1,600 children from the public schools were present. Governor Wright and Mayor West made addresses. There were children from twenty schools. The mayor, in his address, alluded to the first establishment of free schools in the city. This had been five years before, and there had been in them only 100 scholars. The city was increasing its school house accommodations as rapidly as possible, but its means hardly enabled it to keep pace with the demand. In January of the same year a new house had been erected which would accommodate over 300 children, with room for six teachers. This was already filled and another house of the same size was begun, to be finished for September. They had at that time 25 teachers employed, and the new house would require several more. In their schools were five grades, primary, secondary, intermediate, grammar and high school.

The first report of the school trustees of the city of Lafayette, July, 1856, has this:

"The first effort made towards the establishment of a common school in our city was the building of school house No. 1 in the northeast part of town, under the old district system. The citizens of district No. 1 voluntarily levied a tax of 50 cents on the \$100 to accomplish that object. In 1852 a general law was passed, giving the control of all school matters to townships and incorporated cities. Under that act, the trustees appointed by the city council took possession of this property, completed and furnished the building and rented it for school purposes. This property with improvements cost about \$5,000.

In October, 1852, the trustees levied a tax of 50 cents on the \$100 upon the real and personal property of the city, for the purchase of lots and the building of school houses, and subsequently allowed the citizens of

districts No. 7 and 9 to apply in payment of this assessment the tax they had paid in the district levy of 1851. The revenue derived from this assessment with our proportion of the State Common School funds, was appropriated to the purchase of the lot on which school house No. 2 is situated, and in the building of the commodious school houses Nos. 2 and 3, the latter having been erected on ground leased from Solomon Romig. The lot, with the building and furnishing of both houses, has cost not less than \$14,000. In June, 1854, the schools were first opened, free to all entitled to their benefits, and were continued in operation until July, 1855. Trustees value all property now (1856) under their charge for educational purposes, at \$20,000. The three school houses can accommodate 800. This is their full capacity. The trustees hope that the public spirit and parental affection of our citizens will ere long demand the establishment of a high school endowed with every faculty for an advanced or collegiate education, so that children of our city may be kept under the influence of good examples and just restraints of home until prepared to take their part in the active duties of life. What should be, can be done, and when accomplished no one would desire to return to the old paths."

Here we see a very sensible method which was used to good effect in the formation of a public school system.

Richmond had met with equally good success. The first year of the city school closed June 27, 1852. Their school was commenced amidst embarrassments from want of experience as to what was actually needed. Although a fine house was opened for the first time, it was found entirely too small to accommodate all the scholars. The board determined to engage none but professional teachers, and the result abundantly showed the wisdom of the resolution. Their school was classified and graded. The school excited much interest, both in town and country. Many visitors came from far and near. The high school was composed of young men and women, many of whom had attended academies and colleges. The normal class was composed of some sixty pupils, many of whom had taught during the summer. The success attained by the Richmond system could be largely attributed to Supt. J. Hurty, who came there as a professional supervisor from Ohio.

While not so successful from the beginning, no city used better judgment than Evansville. It, at the beginning, laid the basis of the splendid system which it has maintained for many years. From the third annual report (July, 1856) is the following:

"Three years ago there were 1,200 children in the city and 300 enrolled. Now there are 1,800, with an enrollment of 900. For the first two years there were no school rooms, furniture nor apparatus. The city of Evansville did not own a school house nor a school room. The basements of churches, the upper rooms of engine houses, and also private dwellings constituted the only building appliances for school purposes. From such a beginning, if beginning it can be called, Evansville took a new start and went vigorously to work, until she has educational facilities which will not be disparaged by a comparison with those of any other place in the state. The past year it has built one of the best school houses in the State. It will accommodate from 800 to 900 pupils and has six large rooms with recitation rooms attached to each. Cost \$10,000. The ground cost \$1,000. John S. Hopkins, mayor of the city, was the great aid in its erection.

The schools are classified and divided into four grades—high school, grammar, intermediate and primary. There are 13 teachers, 3 males, 10 females. The high school is under the charge of B. P. Snow, a graduate of Bowdoin college. There were 51 admitted to the high school during the past year.

Evansville is justly proud of its schools, and they are cherished with a feeling which might well be imitated in many other places in Indiana. Though burdened with very heavy taxes, it cheerfully pays the amount necessary to maintain its schools free and when men are proposed for municipal officers, they are required to pledge themselves to the hearty support of these, its dearest interests. The watchword of the trustees is, "Which shall Evansville have, Schools or Poorhouses and Prisons."

An equally successful town and one which continued to hold its own was Shelbyville. In 1857 Shelbyville had a good graded free school, a fine building, well furnished; a neat yard, well fenced; and a good corps of teachers. The people of Shelbyville were proud of their school and deservedly so.

The same year (1857) graded schools were established for the first time at Fort Wayne. Geo. A. Irvin, an experienced teacher, was appointed superintendent. A fine union school house had been constructed, with accommodations for three or four hundred pupils. The school gave promise of success.

At Connorsville, as at Richmond, a neat, thriving town of 2,000 inhabitants, was another of Ohio's sons laboring under very unfavorable circumstances. His school was well patronized, notwithstanding the wretched condition of the school room, a damp, dark basement. However, the true spirit had been awakened here. The Board of Directors, Messrs. Burk and Hall, had almost completed a fine school

building about 70x70, three stories high, which was completed during the year, and a true free school opened.

Tracing the growth and development of the early schools, one finds the educational centers widely distributed. The places where success came were the wide-awake localities that were nourished by a continuous stream of new emigrant blood. Indianapolis, Evansville, Fort Wayne and Richmond are typical examples. On the other hand is found a class of towns which, seemingly filled with the "old stock", persistently held to their ancient ideals. The public school, with them, was a problem which had to be left for a future generation to solve. A third class, the medium between the two extremes, was composed of those who carried the work along with only partial success. They were not yet able to cope with the situation, either in a financial way or in administrative power. To a majority of localities the State had given powers to which the time for utilization had not yet arrived. In those which were successful, the following table will show the steady growth, as to enumeration, made from the year 1853 to 1858, inclusive:

Name.	1853	1854	1855	1856	1857	1858
Indianapolis -----	3,053	----	3,901	4,504	4,338	4,739
Evansville -----	1,658	2,313	2,559	2,921	3,288	3,560
New Albany -----	3,102	3,450	3,706	3,887	3,914	3,450
Madison -----	3,240	3,738	2,970	2,954	2,904	2,581
Fort Wayne -----	1,233	1,403	1,732	2,060	2,203	3,398
Lafayette -----	----	1,716	2,125	2,125	1,787	1,967
Richmond -----	1,086	1,187	1,614	1,682	1,659	1,757
Terre Haute -----	----	1,766	----	1,331	1,744	1,746
Laporte -----	----	935	937	1,279	1,392	1,353
Vincennes -----	851	870	867	877	927	1,085

There is no evidence to prove otherwise than that the steady progress being made by our city systems at that time would have resulted in a more perfected system at a much earlier date, had not the awful calamity which simply tore the city schools from their base, come to pass, namely, the Supreme Court decision of 1857, in "*Jenners vs the City of Lafayette*."

THE DECISION OF 1857

Progress of the city schools in Indiana met its "Waterloo" in the year 1857. For the next few years following, one might truthfully say that (as far as these schools were concerned) they were in their "Dark Ages."

This important decision of the Supreme Court, which for several years brought to a standstill all progress in the city public school work, was entitled "*Jenners vs City of Lafayette*." This case, quoting from the *Indiana School Journal*, "involved the right of cities and other school corporations to tax themselves to support public schools, and was decided in the plaintiff's favor." By this decision all the annual schools (as the public schools were then called) in the State of Indiana, were crushed at once, with the single exception of those in the city of Evansville. That city, having retained its former charter, escaped the general wreck. Of the correctness of the decision there is nothing to say. One cannot presume to question the wisdom and uprightness of our Supreme Court, but one thing is certain, the decision, or the section of the constitution on which the decision was based, was most outrageous. If it was the intention of the framers of the constitution to prevent the establishment and the maintenance of free schools, then the constitution was an outrage upon the people—an outrage which could hardly find a precedent or parallel in any State in the Union. The decision was based upon Section 22 of Article IV of the Indiana constitution, which reads as follows:

"The General Assembly shall not pass local or special laws * * * providing for supporting common schools."

The whole facts in the case may be stated in a few words. The constitution of Indiana, or the interpretation of it by her highest judicial tribunal, forbade the people of any city or corporate place in the State, to tax themselves to support free schools, till the whole State should consent to tax itself for the same purpose.

One can readily see the effect of such a decision where the social and economic differences between the rural and urban communities must play such an important part. The decision paralyzed the city schools from one end of the State

to the other. Many cities and towns tried to continue their well established systems by private donations after the State fund was used up. Others gave up in despair and disbanded their schools altogether.

In New Albany, where schools were firmly established, and where they had been in successful progress for the past three years, the corps of teachers, 27 in number, was disbanded and the free schools closed. In Richmond, committees were appointed to solicit payment of the tax which had been assessed, and it was decided that if two-thirds of the amount assessed could be realized the schools would be kept open till April. For the succeeding year this city tried the following scheme: The school trustees of the city announced that they had made arrangement with the superintendent, W. D. Henkle, for the establishment of schools upon individual tuition, in accordance with the graded system of the public schools. The public school houses, or so many as would be sufficient to accommodate all who wished to send, should be granted free of rent. This plan failed utterly, and private schools began to come to the front once more.

In Fort Wayne, where for the two years preceding this decision the willing school workers had labored to remove from their city the disgrace of being at least one of the dark corners of Indiana by building two large, three-story school buildings, the effect was disastrous. Just at this crisis, when the good influence of the school was beginning to be felt and appreciated, the fiat came from the Supreme Court that the city might educate the children of the wealthy in private schools, but the children of the poor were to be turned out upon the streets to grow up in ignorance and crime.

Shelbyville made an effort to raise, by voluntary payment of taxes and by subscription, sufficient means to continue in operation the fine graded schools in that place. It was not successful. They tried to preserve a remnant of the public system by dismissing all but four teachers, and admitting only such students as were willing to pay.

As soon as the schools closed, the prominent educators who had cast their lot with Indiana's educational institutions began to leave. Among the most prominent were G. B. Stone and W. T. Webster, superintendent and principal, respectively,

of the Indianapolis high school. The former went to Minneapolis as superintendent, the latter to Lewiston, Maine. Indianapolis suffered severely. More than two-thirds of the school children were out of school in 1858. A great number of poor private schools sprang up after the ruin of the public schools. Here, too, the plan of voluntary contribution was tried, but without success. A nucleus of a public system was maintained in the city by having a few teachers carry on school in the ward buildings. It was a meagre attempt, but it kept the spark of public school spirit alive.

While the effects of the decision of the Supreme Court were sweeping over the State like a pestilence, crushing the graded schools in all the incorporated towns and cities, and causing anguish of heart to the inhabitants everywhere, the schools of Evansville alone escaped the general destruction. This was in consequence of their holding on to their old city charter.

At the very time the decision was published that closed the schools in New Albany, Lafayette, Indianapolis and other places, the citizens of Evansville were considering the propriety of giving up their old charter and incorporating under the general law for incorporating cities. The question was submitted to a vote of the people, and was made a test whether they would adopt the new charter, and thereby destroy their schools, or hold on to their old charter and save them. The question was hotly contested by the friends and enemies of the schools, and the result was that the new charter party was defeated by a vote of more than two to one.

As an evidence of public sentiment upon the question of taxation to support the schools in the city of Evansville, it is worth noting that the individuals who had announced their names as candidates to fill the various city offices were very careful to add that they were in favor of sustaining the public schools. That was a better index of the public feeling in regard to the value of these schools than anything else they could have offered. In 1858 there were twenty-four teachers employed in these schools. The schools themselves were well graded and compared favorably with any system of graded schools in the West.

With the exception of the last named place, no town or

city of the State escaped. Schools everywhere were either closed or maintained during a short session only, with the tax for which the state law provided. In the course of the next two years, by 1860, several cities began again to start their schools. The unjust decision, resembling in infamy the famous Dred Scott decision of national fame, which was handed down almost at the same time, was by this time beginning to be ignored.

In 1860 the city free schools of Indianapolis opened, to continue six months. They had not been in operation since the law of 1855 relating to incorporated towns was pronounced unconstitutional, but the city jail had been at all times full of boys who had violated the laws of the State, while others went to swell the number in the State penitentiary. The Rev. James Green was the new superintendent, and Messrs. Culley, Beaty and Love, trustees. These men were heavy taxpayers, but they favored free schools, and took a deep and active interest in education. Perhaps no city had a more loyal set of trustees. But one only of all its flourishing schools was sustained during the crisis in financial matters. In spite of all adverse influence, this school was conducted successfully by G. W. Bronson, who kept up the various grades, hired teachers and paid them, pocketed the losses from bad school bills, and held himself accountable for a heavy rent which should have been given him as a present by the city. This school was kept in excellent condition for entering upon the free term which was taught the latter part of each school year.

At Columbus a new building was completed in 1860, at a cost of nearly \$10,000. It was built entirely by taxation, and, wonderful to tell, this tax, though quite heavy, was most cheerfully paid.

Princeton, too, in 1860, came to again. D. Eckley Hunter resigned his position as principal of the academy at Bainbridge, Putnam county, and took up the principalship of the academic department in its graded schools. The school opened for ten months, with six teachers in charge. William Kuntz, Andrew Lewis, and Rev. J. McMaster were the trustees. They worked faithfully, without compensation. The extra money was raised by donation.

In the same year New Castle erected a large building. The school there was again put on a firm basis by two very willing instructors, T. Sharp and James R. Smith.

At Lafayette, the former superintendent, A. J. Vawter, was again persuaded to take the place. With the co-operation of the trustees and earnest citizens, who felt the loss of a public system, Mr. Vawter again began the struggle which he had gone through once before, namely, the organization of a graded system of schools. In 1862 there were 2,203 pupils in the city, with an enrollment of 1,089. There were seventeen teachers, the average salary of the male teachers being \$45.00 per month and that of the female teachers \$22.67 per month. The quarterly expense of each pupil was \$1.72, which was paid by tuition, tax, and contribution. As stated by Superintendent Vawter, this amount was less than half the cost per pupil in the private schools. This was a fair representation of public schools generally, and was a strong point against public school killers.

Vincennes, by 1862, had erected one of the finest school buildings in the State. Teachers began the organization of a graded system, although handicapped by difficulties which had arisen on account of previous short terms.

Muncie, by 1862, had a well-organized graded system. Under Mr. Richards, the schools were fast becoming among the best in the State.

The most peculiar condition existed in the city of Logansport. Here the people taxed themselves and were, in turn, given complete control over their schools. With an excellent board of trustees and a large revenue existed most indifferent schools. This resulted from the decision of the local trustees, that cities, like townships, were made up of districts, and that the people should have the power to select their schools and to elect their teachers. Here was a case where plenty of money was wasted because of a lack of organization.

Greenfield, like Logansport, seemed indifferent. While schools were maintained, they did not prosper. As late as 1864 this town had not a public school building. It relied on public halls and rented buildings. Teachers were hired and soon dismissed. Very few remained longer than one year. Such a condition prevented development. Greencastle, at

the same time, was in the same condition. Not a single building did it own, and, although a system of schools was maintained despite the Supreme Court decision, they were kept in rented property.

By 1864 Terre Haute began to assume her former position in school affairs. This year the schools were highly prosperous. The board of trustees were liberal and progressive men. The salaries of the teachers were raised during the year, from 20 to 30 per cent. A fine ward building was completed during this year, and plans laid for a \$50,000 high school building. The schools were under the leadership of Superintendent Olcott, one of the prominent educators of the State at that time. During the school year of 1864-1865 there were 2,420 pupils enrolled in the schools, with twenty-three teachers, who received as salary \$8,727.50. The curriculum was full, and included many subjects which were later dispensed with, such as Greek, philosophy and normal instruction.

By 1865 the schools of New Albany had become established on a firm basis again. The teachers were well selected. The only deviation from the former system was the loss of a superintendent. The board tried an experiment in running the schools without a supervisory head, in order to keep down expenses. The principals were given the power of supervision over their buildings, and the official duties of an ordinary superintendent were done by the president of the school board, who sacrificed his time for \$300 per year. This plan failed afterwards, but it served its purpose. It was a means to provide ten months' school at a time when it could have been accomplished in no other way. In New Albany at that time there were twenty-seven teachers and five school buildings.

Madison, at the same time, woke up to her situation, and for the first time since 1857 taxed herself for a full school year, regardless of the Supreme Court decision.

In conclusion, we may state that this era was unfavorable to educational development. One of the pioneer educational centers, Lawrenceburg, suffered equally with the rest. Seemingly impregnable against such a force, the taxes here were not paid, just as in cities far less devoted to their schools.

Not until 1865 did this town begin to recover. In that year, while other towns were redeeming themselves in educational matters, Lawrenceburg began to take its position among those affording the best educational facilities for its youth. A few enterprising citizens assumed the responsibility of engaging teachers by the year and paying them first-class salaries. An entirely new set of hot air furnaces was put into their large and well-fitted school house. Over \$2,000 was spent during that year alone to fit up the building and furnish it with necessary appliances. The school was opened under the supervision of J. Hurty, assisted by a corps of able teachers. The school was thoroughly classified and put in fine working order. A school yard of four acres was provided, and a janitor employed who did much in providing physical comfort for the children. The citizens became deeply interested in the reform in school matters in their city, and offered every assistance to the superintendent and teachers. Although this place had for some time been behind others in the character of its schools, it soon grew to stand among the best. Female teachers were paid from \$30 to \$50 per month, male teachers from \$60 to \$120 per month. As in other places, the citizens had seen the situation with and without schools. Law or no law, education was essential to progress. To obey the law meant ruin; to provide schools meant growth. Future success depended upon having intelligent citizens.

THE SUPERINTENDENT

Along with the struggle of the schools themselves came embarrassments as to their management. Several problems presented themselves at the beginning. First, what should be the duties of a superintendent? Secondly, was his office essential, or could it be dispensed with altogether and the system run just as efficiently without it? Third, what relation should exist between him and the teachers on the one hand, and the board together with the people on the other?

The public schools followed in many ways the customs of the private institutions. One of these customs was in the duty of the superintendent. At first this office in the free schools was filled by a man who taught, by an expert teacher,

we might say. Later a great many official duties devolved upon him, and gradually the superintendent became more of a secretary to the school board. At the same time, in the best systems, the superintendent became an expert supervisor, his tendency being to lean toward the teachers under him.

The historical outgrowth of the public superintendent from that of the principal of private institutions as well as his duties, may be considered a factor as to why the superintendent at the beginning was a teacher. The fact that in the early years many of the schools were partly sustained by public money and partly by private tuition, makes the question of supervision more complex still.

A study of the school development at Rockport will show us the close relationship which existed between the public and private institutions at that time. Rockport in 1856 sustained good schools. Mr. O. H. Smith, as superintendent, taught the high school, and Mr. Partridge the other. The elementary grades were taught by Mrs. Partridge and Mrs. Moseby. This shows a close likeness to the public schools elsewhere.

At Salem, in 1857, Mr. H. D. Wilson had a fine school, and built up for himself an excellent and well-deserved reputation. He was aided by Mrs. Wilson, Miss Morrow and Miss Hopkins. The latter taught music. At that time the people opposed the graded system.

Connorsville, in 1857, had at the head of its schools a Mr. Jenkins from Ohio. It devolved upon him to develop the systems of schools. Although laboring under unfavorable circumstances, such as teaching in basements, rented rooms, etc., this man was able to put the schools on their feet.

George B. Stone, the man who first organized the Indianapolis schools, devoted his whole time, with the exception of one and one-half hours daily, which time was devoted to hearing classes in the high school, to visiting the different grades, examining the classes, giving directions to the teachers and instructions to the pupils and attending to all the exterior and interior arrangements of the schools.

At Shelbyville, in 1857, Supt. W. A. Boles supplied all the needed maps, blackboard, apparatus, etc., of his own making. This was a fine thing for the school but hard on

his time and purse. But it showed the prevailing educational interest.

South Bend went so far in the educational phase of supervision, that in 1875 it had two superintendents. One was to supervise the elementary grades, the other the high school. Mr. D. A. Ewing was at that time superintendent of the elementary grades, Mr. Benjamin Wilcox of the high school work. This plan worked splendidly at South Bend, but its success was largely attributed to the great ability of Mr. Ewing.

At Evansville, in 1865, Professor Rice was elected superintendent of the schools. Mr. Rice was a teacher of experience and known ability, which guaranteed to the people that he would succeed in his new and larger field of work. He was chosen because of his superior educational or teaching ability.

In 1870 Professor Edward Clark, superintendent of the Aurora schools, started an "Educational Column" in the *People's Advocate* published at that place. Professor Clark came to Indiana from Ohio, where he had been engaged for several years previous as a teacher in the Lebanon normal school.

New Castle, in 1875, under the supervision of George W. Hufford, maintained very good schools. Mr. Hufford was one of Indiana's most scholarly teachers, as well as one of the most sensible superintendents. His chief delight was to put out strong students. To this end he maintained a rigid four-year course of study.

The schools at Logansport, in 1867, were placed under the supervision of Sheridan Cox. In the matter of education, he had a great task before him, which he accomplished with success. Mr. Cox spent half his time superintending, and the remainder in teaching.

In the same year (1867) the schools of Lawrenceburg came under J. C. Ridpath, a graduate of Asbury (now De Pauw) University. He was a man who put great interest into his work. His superior scholarship dominated the whole system.

In 1869 Columbus maintained a well-graded system of schools under a man who was thoroughly devoted to his work.

This man, David Graham, was another example of the scholarship type of superintendent.

At Union City, in 1869, E. Tucker came to the head of the school system, from a position in Liber college. He was one of the few men at that time who held State certificates. His ability, from the standpoint of scholarship, dominated his policies.

All this is offered as evidence that for the first twenty years of city school life, the worth of a superintendent was measured largely by his ability as an instructor, as a scholar.

An interesting plan for solving the problem of a superintendent was the double principal system. This proved successful for a while, but later gave way to the single supervisor, the principals putting in their time teaching. Several cities tried this scheme at first.

The schools at New Castle, in 1860, were successfully conducted by Mr. T. Sharp and Mr. James R. Smith, as joint principals. Similarly, at Muncie, as late as 1864, the schools were conducted jointly by E. J. Rice and James S. Ferris, aided by a full and competent corps of teachers. At Rising Sun, in 1865, the schools were supervised by two associate principals, Messrs. Matson and McFee. Likewise, at New Castle, again in 1866, the schools were conducted by two independent principals.

Another complexity which entered in was that of county examiners, acting in the capacity of supervisory officials of city or town schools in their respective counties. Usually the salary (which was paid by the day with only a limited number of days allotted them during each year) was too small to support them, and consequently they engaged in some other work part of the time to meet their needs. It was a saving proposition for the corporations themselves.

At Vevay, in 1870, the schools were conducted by R. F. Brewington, the county examiner. In the same year the graded schools of Spencer were conducted by the county examiner of Owen county. Robert Andrews, county examiner, conducted the schools at Shoals. He was a very efficient school man, and built up a good graded school. This plan was tried out in several places, but gradually weakened and finally gave way to the independent supervisor.

Lack of funds, coupled with the idea that the superintendent was a useless official, caused an experiment in many cities which proved to the fullest degree that such an official could not be dispensed with. Many towns and cities tried the plan of carrying on their schools without a supervisory head.

A very successful system of this kind was that found in Evansville in 1858. H. Q. Wheeler, president of the board of trustees, acted as superintendent. Mr. Wheeler had been connected with these schools ever since they had been organized. To him the people of Evansville were indebted more than to any other man for the efficiency of their system. He took a great interest in its success, and made personal sacrifices to build up and sustain it. In addition to rendering his service, Mr. Wheeler gave to the school certain laboratory apparatus worth \$350.00.

Another type of this system was at New Albany, in 1870. New Albany had always been famous for its system of city schools. In this year it had for its superintendent one of the school trustees, Dr. E. Newland. This official believed that one of the school trustees ought always to act as the superintendent. Fortunately Dr. Newland was a splendid official. Their system, under him, was very creditable as to scholarship, order, and educational interest. But in 1872 the school officials were on the lookout for a new head. Dr. Newland could not afford to devote his whole time to school business for \$300.00 per year—the salary allotted him. No other trustee was capable of filling the place had he chosen to do so. The whole matter ended in the hiring of a superintendent.

In 1869 the school board of Terre Haute abolished the office of superintendent. The reason assigned was economy. In so doing, the board authorized W. H. Wiley, principal of the high school, to give part of his time to superintending the other schools in the city. One year later (1870) Mr. Wiley was elected superintendent, and in 1871 he was re-elected for a period of two years, at a salary of \$2,000 per annum.

This plan of having a member of the board act as superintendent was tried at Madison, Vincennes, South Bend and other places in the State, but was found to be unsuccessful. The whole difficulty lay in the fact that those trustees compe-

tent to carry on the business end of school affairs could not afford to do so on a meagre salary, and the purpose of the scheme was to save money.

The early years of trial and experiment proved two things. First, that a superintendent was essential, and, second, that such an office was best vested in a single person. By 1875 all the city schools in the State, of any importance, had superintendents. When once settled that they were a necessity, their true function was then questioned.

As the school systems grew, the teaching function of the superintendent gradually disappeared. He then became either a professional supervisor, allowing the interested board to assume much of the business end of the system, or, with the decrease of interest on the part of the boards, he became the business manager of the system. Later the man was looked for who, it was thought, could do both successfully.

In 1867 the Superintendent of the Shelbyville schools, D. Eckley Hunter, devoted his whole time to superintending. He had no regular classes. This was considered quite a step forward, at that time, owing to the small size of the city. Here is found a transition from the teaching superintendent of 1866 to the supervising superintendent of 1867. Under such conditions the trustees worked in complete harmony with the system.

Such division of labor did well in other cities. At Logansport, for example, in 1869, they were able for the first time to run the schools ten months. They advanced more that year than any previous year.

Lafayette succeeded well in her school system, also, for the same reason. Their superintendent, J. W. Molier, in his report, spoke in strong terms of the efficiency and liberality of the board of trustees.

Tell City, in Perry county, some years earlier (1864), had organized a good system of graded schools. The superintendent, Jacob Bollinger, attributed much of the success to the untiring efforts of the trustees.

Another phase of the direct interest of school trustees in the matter of supervision, is shown as follows:

"In September, 1869, the trustees of the Bloomington schools sent their teachers to spend a week in the Indianapolis schools. They believed that teachers learned how to teach by seeing others teach."

In 1870 Superintendent A. C. Shortridge, of Indianapolis, with eight or ten of his teachers, visited the St. Louis schools. Several of the others visited the Cincinnati schools at the same time.

To show the importance of the trustees as a factor in the early school supervision, the following is quoted from the *Rules and Regulations for the Public Schools of Indianapolis for 1866*.

"SUPERINTENDENT AND HIS DUTIES

The Superintendent of Public Schools shall act under the advice and direction of the Board of Education, and shall have the superintendence of all public schools, school houses, books, and apparatus. He shall devote himself exclusively to the duties of his office. He shall keep regular office hours other than school hours, at a place to be provided for that purpose, which shall be the depository of the books and papers belonging to the board of education."

From 1871 up to the end of this period (1880), cities, as a rule, began to rely upon the superintendent for the complete guidance of their schools. This was due to two things, viz: (1) the increasing complexity of the system, (2) the gradual loss of interest on the part of boards. In 1873 the schools of Elkhart were largely dominated by Superintendent J. K. Walts. The citizens measured their schools largely through the work of the superintendent.

Huntington, in 1874, was completely carried away with the work of Superintendent James Baldwin. In addition to the ordinary work, he arranged a course of lectures for the benefit of the high school.

Fort Wayne's policies, in 1874, were well carried out by Superintendent James H. Smart. He had the schools well systematized. Evansville (1874) allowed her superintendent, Mr. A. M. Gow, great liberties in the management of school affairs. At Indianapolis, Superintendent A. C. Shortridge was considered, by board and patrons, the efficient leader of his system. The Terre Haute board (1871), in speaking of Superintendent Wiley, said:

"The schools were never in a more prosperous condition than they are today. Too much praise can not be bestowed upon Professor W. H. Wiley, our superintendent, for the able and satisfactory manner in which he has

managed the schools, and the able and energetic corps of teachers who have aided in all his efforts to advance the interest and prosperity of our public schools."

In conclusion, we may sum up the development of supervision as follows:

The supervisor at first was considered worth while only in so far as he was a teacher. Later his duty was that of an expert supervisor. At the same time, some boards hired him for a business manager. Finally, the ideal superintendent was regarded as the man who could perform both the managerial duties and professional service.

(To be concluded)

The Pioneers of Jefferson County

I REMINISCENCES

By JAMES B. LEWIS

MY grandfather, John Lewis, came to this country from Wales about 1750 and lost his life when my father was about five years old, in the battle at the fort opposite New London, Connecticut, at the close of the Revolutionary war. He left two sons, John and Oliver. The latter, my father, moved to Trumbull county, Ohio, in 1804. His family then consisted of my mother now residing on Walnut street, aged ninety-four, one daughter and one son, Chauncey B. Lewis, father of Dr. James R. Lewis. In Ohio, his family increased to three daughters and three sons. He resided in Ohio during the war of 1812, and was a soldier under Gen. William H. Harrison. Was at the battle of Niagara Falls, Black Rock and River Raisin. My father was sent with others as an escort with an officer to supersede General Croghan at Lower Sandusky fort, and got so near that they heard the gun (a six-pounder) that was so well handled by our men. As fast as the British soldiers filled the ditch leading to the fort, the point of the six-pounder was run out and fired with such effect that it drove them out, leaving the ditch nearly full with their dead.

While my father was in the army, mother would weave cloth for the other soldiers' wives, while they would tend her garden in turn. I remember, as young as I was, seeing the old, gray-headed men come round to see that all was well, for every able-bodied man had gone to the front to prevent the Indians coming into our neighborhood. When my father returned, it was about daylight. He had lost a thumb in the last battle and it was very painful. That fall he lost his second crop of corn by early frost, and the next fall, 1815, he lost his third. I remember the latter. The whole country was a stench in our nostrils and we could taste it in our mouths. My father was a Methodist, and his Circuit Rider advised him to go to Indiana Territory.

On his recommendation he started in the fall of 1815, in company with Baldwin Clark and family. They purchased a flatboat at Weaver, twelve miles below Pittsburgh, on the Ohio, and, when all was ready, we were marched down to the boat. My father and others united in singing and prayer, committing themselves and their families to their kind heavenly father's care while on the river, and journeying to their new home.

On our way down the river we stopped at several places. At Cincinnati we stopped over the Sabbath. There was no wharf there then. Under the high bank was a steam saw-mill, and when running the steam would escape, it looked to me, twenty-five feet high, and would whistle like one of the old fashioned hunter's horns. From Cincinnati down we stopped at Fort Williams, now Carrolton. There George Short took passage with his "kit" of tools. He was a wheelwright and all our old farmers will testify to his good spinning wheels. He settled up on Walnut street, out of town, and ever after it was called "Georgetown."

There was no landing then made at Madison. The original sycamore, cottonwood and willow trees were standing under and on the high bank; these grew out into the river, especially the cottonwoods. Col. John Paul had cut the trees from the front of his house, now belonging to the heirs of Mr. Abram Todd. Our first citizens erected houses on the second, or high river bank, and when Walnut, Main, Mulberry and West streets were graded it left the houses above the street and nearly worthless, for instance, Robert Craig's and Alois Bachman's.

Navigation on the river at this time was of the rudest kind. There were no steamboats for several years. Broad-horns could float down, but to go up-stream the keelboat was used, a craft somewhat similar to the present canal boat, but very rude; the guards were about a foot wide and had cleets nailed to the floor, and two or three men on each side with long poles would push it against the current with their shoulders. When the water was deep or rapid, the men looked as though they were all lying down. Six miles were considered a good day's run.

The original plat of Madison was laid off from East to

West streets. These streets were the eastern and western boundaries of the then "town" of Madison. The streets were in their original state, and as that winter, 1815-16, was warm, they were wet with plenty of mud and misery. There were three ponds in the old town, one on Walnut street, running south under the market space nearly to the present jail, and to Jonathan Fitch's corner. Another where A. J. Fisher's stables now stand on Second street. The other opposite the Madison hotel, on Mulberry and Second streets. On the north end of this pond, on the alley between Main Cross and Second streets, was the only barber shop in the place. The sign over the door was hard for boys to read. It ran thus: "SAM-DUNNBARBER." At the intersection of Main and Main Cross streets, and for some space around, there was a marsh, and the old corduroy is still buried about four feet under the present streets.

There was a large number of Indians about. They had a camp at the north end of Walnut street, opposite Johnson & Clements' old starch factory. John Ritchie's store was opposite Rolla Doolittle's residence. The Indians used to trade with him. The Indians seldom used saddles or bridles on their ponies. If they got drunk—and they would always do so if they could get the fire-water—one or two would remain sober to take care of the others.

Robert Craig opened a grocery on Second street shortly after, near where Mr. Dickson now has his newspaper depot; Jacob G. Doyle was nearby, and Linas R. Leonard where the mayor's office now stands.

When John Paul laid off the addition below West street, where the angle is made, there was considerable indignation about "that bend." It was originally intended for Main Cross to run to the river, so when on the street you could see the point below town on the Kentucky shore. There were written and published in the papers four chapters of "Chronicles" in which Colonel Paul was called "John the Nabob" and "John Paul, Jr.," "Jack Hoecake," etc., for altering the original design.

The old Methodist church was built this year on John McIntyre's land on the east of East street on the back end of the lot, where St. John's church now stands. The seats

were of the rudest sort, split logs with a block under each end. Dr. Oglesby, Dr. Bigelow and a Mr. Brown (James E. Bacon's father-in-law) were the original preachers. Shortly after, Allen Wiley was put on this circuit.

Rev. William Robinson was the Presbyterian minister. He lived in a frame house on the ground where Isaac Wagoner now has a livery stable (my father first lived in a log house opposite). Mr. Robinson was in the habit of drinking, and at times to excess. He was an enterprising man, however, and erected a carding machine on the lot on Walnut street, where my mother now lives. After him, Mr. Searles was pastor, and, after his death, Rev. Joseph Trimble. Both are buried in the old cemetery on Third street. In 1825 Rev. James H. Johnston, now of Crawfordsville, became pastor. After Rev. Mr. Robinson was sold out John M. Watson carded wool for the farms and he used to advertise in the old *Indiana Republican*. The heading was:

"The tariff need not distress us
If we have wool enough to dress us."

In 1817 John Paul gave the ground on Third street for a burying ground. The first person buried there was a Miss Old. Up to that time the burying ground was up in Fulton, above Greiner's brewery.

In 1817 my father farmed all the land in Scott's garden and lived in the old log house back of John Ross's tan-yard. A man by the name of William Cole had a tan-yard where Ross now lives. There was a large spring at the foot of the hills on East street. That was when I was a boy, and it used to make quite a creek across Walnut street. There was a public well in the front of the courthouse. Old Fathers Thomas and Kirk used to draw water by the day and children were sent to them and they would fill their buckets and send them home. There was another well at Stapp and Branham's hotel, near Dr. Cornett's back store door on Mulberry street. Another well was dug in 1834 or '35 near the alley by the postoffice. It did not last long. There was another well in the rear of Mr. Albert Scheik's grocery. It was called "Oldfield's Well." Another was under the present wall on Poplar Lane at Judge J. Y. Allison's residence. This was

called "Talbott Well," as Richard C. Talbott, in 1820, was clerk of the county and lived in that house and kept his office in the corner room. There was another well near the middle of J. F. D. Lanier's ground, where Alex. Lanier now lives. This was called "Lanier's Well." They were all open to the public.

Up to 1828 there was no such thing known as a cast stove. John Sheets brought a seven-plate stove from the east to town for his stove, but there were no cook stoves until 1835 or '36. It was stipulated when I got my wife that I was to furnish a "cooking stove" for our kitchen.

In 1825 there was no such thing as a wood-saw. We boys had to chop our wood with an axe. And another great trouble was, such things as matches were unknown until about 1835, and then they were of the rudest kind. First you had to have a vial with some kind of a preparation in it and a stick with sulphur on the end and when poked into this vial it would ignite. At last, some man invented our present match. At first they had to have a piece of black sand paper, and when rubbed on this paper it would ignite. These were called Locofoco matches and they gave the name to the old Democratic party in this wise: The Tammany party was divided on some questions in New York City, and when one party found they were in the minority, blew out the lights; the other party was not to be outgeneraled and immediately struck a light and proceeded with their meeting, and Prentice of the *Louisville Journal* ever after called it the "Locofoco" party. Before these matches were invented, while living in the country, I was careful not to let the fire go out, and, if I did, the next morning, wet or cold, I would have to post off to the nearest neighbor to "borrow" a little fire.

Father Logan was mistaken about Daniel Lyle's store being the oldest house. It was built in 1838 or 1840. But the brick house across the alley was built in 1818. Andrew Collins' store was in the front and he lived in the frame part. The house Mr. Schooley pulled down this summer was built in 1823, and was a sample of all the houses then in town. The house on the corner of Third and Poplar Lane with a porch on the east side was built by Josiah Meade in 1818; also the house on the alley adjoining David Wilson's old resi-

dence on Second street. The house where Mrs. J. G. Marshall now lives was built by Felix Brandt in 1818; in the east room he had a watch-maker's shop. Mr. William Robinson, father of Mrs. Crane, had a store in the front room of Mr. Verry's residence. The oldest house now standing in the city is on the alley (east side) on the south side of High street between Main and Walnut streets. Peter Hemphill resided there and was ferryman from this side of the river and Abram King from the Kentucky side. The other house is the little red front on the river bank just above William Phibbs'. The front frame in the house where John Marsh now lives is sixty years old.

The old market house was west of the big pond between Mr. Sering's residence and the courthouse. It was built by setting four posts with forks in the upper ends and poles laid in them and then covered with clapboards and logs to hold them on. The house used as a courthouse stood where V. Firth's house now stands. The court was held in the upper room. The stairs were on the outside and west end. The jail, "Old Buckeye," was hard to beat. It was a house with a house built on the outside so close that nothing could be moved, as the outside held everything in its place. David Kent was jailer.

It was hard to make change in these times, as money was scarce. The old Spanish dollar was universally used, together with half dollars and twenty-five-cent pieces, bits ($12\frac{1}{2}$ cents), and fips ($6\frac{1}{4}$ cents); the ten-cent pieces passed for $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents, or eight for a dollar. In 1831 or 1832, when Jesse Whitehead opened store, he used to bring out a keg full of ten and five-cent pieces and make change for anyone wanting it, and gave eight dimes and sixteen five-cents for a dollar. So they were soon called "Jesses" and "Half-Jesses."

Before this, they used to cut the money and so get change. For instance, if I owed a man $6\frac{1}{4}$ cents, I would cut a 25-cent piece into four pieces, and a half dollar to eight, or a half for a quarter dollar and cut the other half into four parts, so on with the dollar, etc. This cut money was called "Sharp-shins."

The first Sabbath school was in the old Presbyterian church on West street in front of what is now called Presbyterian

avenue. I preferred this school to the private schools because they gave us books to read, besides the red and blue tickets. Mrs. McIntyre had a private school in 1816.

In 1817 a Catholic priest came to town, and he said mass, preached, administered the sacraments and baptized several children, some of them large girls and boys. But to me the most singular part of the service was that he married four or five old couples who had children grown. This service was held in the house where Joel Dickey now resides. John Paul built this house and offered the whole square to the county if they would make it the courthouse. Beaumont Park for many years taught the higher branches of education there. Many of our old citizens could neither read nor write. Deal charitably with them, and remember that many had to go two and three miles to school and nearly all the way through the woods, with blazes on the trees to prevent them from wandering out of the way and getting lost. And such school houses! One log left out to light the house and this in cold winter, for all had to work on the farm during the summer. Another thing will amuse our young people: Whenever there was a night meeting, it was held at "early candle light." At the appointed time, the heads of each family would take one or two candles in hand; some with a lantern, and as they arrived would light the house, and if but few came, they would of course have poor lights.

Ephriam Kennedy (Old John Brown) and O. B. Lewis went down to the mouth of Crooked creek to fish about this time. Soon they heard a noise like the firing of a gun below the point on the Kentucky shore. About the same time a strange looking craft rounded the point; one mentioned that it was Indians. They immediately dropped all and made for the town. They ran until out of breath, and then hid under the logs for a time, but becoming more alarmed, ran through the woods, greatly excited, into town. They ran until out of breath and reported the Indians coming, and the citizens went to the river to see the first steamboat that came and landed at Madison.

Scape pipes in those days were made very small and great force was necessary to drive the steam through them. For that reason, a noise was made of a very peculiar kind. It

would shriek and then bang away like the report of a gun or horn.

In 1824, Abram Wilson's smith shop, on the ground where Wesley Chapel now stands, was burned down. His brother mechanics turned out to rebuild his shop. They went up the river bank where the Mammoth Cave perk house now stands and were cutting down and hewing the cottonwood trees into logs for the purpose of rebuilding said shop. This was trespassing on John McIntyre's land (it was under the high bank). McIntyre went around asking them their names. One of them was Jacob Harbaugh, but passed under the name of Jake Hoboy. McIntyre went around asking the men "What's Jake Hoboy's first name?"

The first Monday of August in each year was election day for State officers. On the present courthouse corner, and near the public well would be two or three barrels on end, heads out, full of whiskey, with tin cups hung on them. Each party would chalk its name on the outside of the barrel. By evening they would be nearly empty and the men full.

At one of these elections, John Paul, Jr., and Brook Bennett were candidates. Paul's friends were voting and shouting "Hurrah for Paul." Young John Bennett became indignant and jumped on a stump and hurrahed for daddy.

General Tipton, of Logansport, about 1826 made a treaty with the Indians, and induced them to give lands enough to make a road one hundred feet wide, from Michigan City to some point on the Ohio river. Congress left it to the Indiana legislature to locate said road. All the river towns in the State wanted it, and for two years our legislature was in continual excitement. A few years before this, the Wabash Canal was asking for an appropriation, and they wanted one vote in the Senate and two in the House to pass it through. Jefferson county could do just what it wanted and our representatives were promised that if they would do so when Jefferson county would come to the legislature and say "Wabash Canal" every man would go for them. They did so and it was their political death. But this road was to come before the legislature the next winter. Cincinnati money was freely spent to take it to Lawrenceburg, and had so far succeeded as to get it to Napoleon. Now James R. Wallace stepped

forth from Jefferson county, and reminded the Wabash Valley men of their promises. In a moment a member of the valley moved to strike out Lawrenceburg and insert Madison. On this he moved the previous question, and Madison got the Michigan road. This is what was called "Log Rolling" in our legislature.

The country round Madison was settled before Madison. The name of Madison was at first "Wakefield." This county and Scott were taken from Clark county and were the same for a time. Jefferson county was named for Jefferson, then President, and Madison was named for President Madison in 1809 or '10 for he held that office at this time. The above is from memory of what my father used to tell men who came into the county to settle.

The first newspaper published in Madison was the *Western Eagle*, by Seth M. Leavenworth and William Hendricks. Col. John Vawter told me in Morgantown that it was printed in his kitchen while he lived in Madison. After the *Western Eagle*, John Lodge started the *Indiana Republican*. Under the caption was this sentiment: "Where Liberty dwelleth, there is my country.—Franklin." About 1831 the *Banner* at Salem was merged into it and it was called *Republican and Banner*.

Dawson Blackmore was not born in the town of Madison, I think, for Blackmore moved from Madison up into Eagle Hollow in 1810 or '11 and Dawson was not born until 1812 or '13. He is of age, let him answer. Judge Blackmore lived there at that time and made and sold hats. David G. Bright, father of Jessie Bright, made hats at the same time, in Dutton's corner, Main Cross and Mulberry streets.

Eagle Hollow got its name from this circumstance. No steam-boats were running, and the large travel to the Jeffersonville land office was by land, and every few miles a tavern. John Troxall put a neat sign with a large spread eagle on it, and after that it was called Eagle Hollow. All the hollows above that were Bee Camp hollows, for every tree that was hollow near the top was sure to have bees, and I have seen a barrel of honey taken out of one tree, while I was living up there from 1818 to 1821.

More about the Indian Camp up Walnut street on Crooked

creek. The Indian squaw in camp did not look like the pictures we have seen of them in books, but quite the reverse. They were as to appearance, larger than the men, but short and slovenly. The young squaw has bright, black eyes, but otherwise is not prepossessing. They examined my coat and how it was made very closely. I saw an old squaw hold up the chin and pinch her little papoose's lips together. I, boy-like asked her why she did so. She answered in substance, it would not take cold if it breathed through its nose while sleeping. All the papooses were strapped to boards of bark and set up against trees. About one hundred yards above the point of the hill nearest Walnut street there was a dam of logs, filling the bed of the creek from bank to bank. Jack Hunt told me it was a beaver's dam. And for ten years afterward, there was occasionally seen beavers playing in the water.

John Paul took advantage of this beaver dam and built a saw mill there. Parts of the mill were there as late as 1830. He also built a grist mill on the north side of the creek, a short distance above the old burying ground on Third street, and grinding was done as late as 1828 and 1830, until Alexander Washer built a mill where the present Star Mills stand.

George Logan was the first white man, as far as the written record goes, to put his foot upon Jefferson county soil, though hundreds trod it before. Doubtless Daniel Boone, who followed the Kentucky river to its mouth, and the Ohio to the Falls was on our soil. Also Simon Kenton and many hunters, trappers and scouts, and the soldiers, settlers, hunters, trappers and government agents who were constantly going up and down the river.

Mr. Logan climbed the hilltop at what is known as Logan's Point March 1, 1801. In 1815, he purchased the land. In 1863, he discovered the beech trees he had marked in 1801. James Vawter built a cabin on the site of the Round House at North Madison in 1806-07. Elder Jesse Vawter removed his family to a residence he had prepared for them at Fairmount in 1806, which he named Mount Glad. Mr. Graham MacFarlane now owns the property. George Richey settled on Clifty creek in 1806; James Underwood on Crooked creek the same year. The settlers previous to 1808 had all located

on the hilltops. In 1808, William Hall squatted on the ground where the engine and pumphouse of our city water works are now located. John H. Wagner landed at the foot of Jefferson street in 1808 and built a cabin on the northeast corner of Mulberry and First streets. This was the first cabin built in the corporate limits of Madison. Mr. Wagner was also our first blacksmith and the father of our late mayor, Isaac Wagner.

In 1808, Col. John Paul bought the land on which Madison stands from the government. He removed to Madison with his family in 1809. Lewis Davis and Jonathan Lyons, partners and associates of Col. Paul, came to Madison in 1809, but remained only a few years. John Ryker, Christopher Harrison, William Robbins, Rafe Griffin, Bazeleel Maxwell, Archibald, Dinwiddie, Joseph Lane, Thomas and David Hughes, Alex. Chambers, Williamson Dunn, father of Gen. William McKee Dunn, Thomas Jameson, father of Elder Love Jameson, Alexander McNutt, John Booth, Samuel Burnett, Robert Trotter, Joshua Wilkinson, John Sering, William Ramsey, Dawson Blackmore, Gen. Alexander Meek, Dr. Robert Cravens, Dr. S. M. Goode, William Hendricks, Arnold Custer and Thomas Roseberry were among the earliest settlers.

The Jenny Lind Pork House was built and run by Messrs. George W. Phillips and son. It was so called because the famous songstress, Jenny Lind, who had been engaged by Mr. Billy Wilson to sing in Madison, found on her arrival that she had to sing there or forfeit the ticket money, and her agent, Mr. P. T. Barnum, was beaten for once. It was a new frame building, very large and stood where Jager's stone yard was on Mulberry street. The house was filled at five dollars a ticket. Captain David White bid a large amount for the premium ticket at auction. The management had guaranteed Barnum \$5,000 and the receipts were \$3,700. They were out \$1,300. From 1847 to 1857, pork packing was a large item of business in Madison. The number of hogs slaughtered one year was 152,000. The flour mills were large and flourishing during this period. On the site of the old pork house, was one run by Capt. David White, who made large quantities of kiln dried corn meal which was shipped to Ireland during the great Irish famine.

Iron foundries were flourishing at this time. Mr. William Clough built and carried on an enterprising business, making railroad cars. The manufacture of starch was now in its beginning and afterwards became a large item of business. The Madison Marine Railway and Shipyard was built about 1850 by a stock company of spirited citizens. It is almost impossible to overestimate the benefit the shipyard has been to Madison. The Madison & Indianapolis Railroad Company was one of the earliest built in the west and Madison was for years the only outlet for this portion of the State, thus enabling Madison to do a large forwarding commission and jobbing trade.

In 1839 when Daniel Webster visited Madison, the reception speech was made by Joseph G. Marshall, who was very similar to Webster in the force and grandeur of his oratory. Webster replied as only the god-like Daniel could. George Robinson (orator, editor and lawyer), after hearing them, went to his office and wrote out both speeches from memory and submitted them and they were both pronounced exact, word for word. This is the only off-hand speech of Webster published, as there were no short-hand reporters in those days.

William Robinson, father of George, came to Madison from Baltimore. He persuaded his friend, Rev. Gamaliel Taylor, to move to Madison as their families could make their long journey together. In 1819 they came from Baltimore to Wheeling in wagons and from Wheeling to Madison in a keel boat down the Ohio river. George Robinson, when 14 years of age, rode horseback from Pittsburg to Madison. When he was 18 years of age, his father sent him on horseback to Baltimore to get the plans drawn for the Methodist church. He returned with plans from which Wesley Chapel was built.

Madison had the first railroad into the interior. This connected with the Ohio river and it at that time, 1842-1852, was the great highway between the south and west to the east and the route by rail and water connecting them gave Madison a name and importance far and wide and made it by far the liveliest of all Indiana towns. It was then a point to and through which the tide of travel swelled daily and nightly in large volume. The steamers which bore this travel were pal-

atial. Busses rattled through the streets. The hotels were hustling caravansaries. The Madison Hotel was a growth and necessity of the conditions then existing and typified activity and vitalities that survive only in memory. Those whose recollections do not reach back to our golden days, can not realize the comparative life, animation, city airs, and cheer of that time. Madison was the business emporium, after Cincinnati and Louisville, and before a pig was ever packed for shipment at Chicago, it was the noted pork mart. Its banking transactions were the heaviest in the State. It was in its Branch Bank that James F. D. Lanier trained and matured himself to become one of the greatest, most successful and noted financiers of Wall Street and of the Nation.

Richard Carson Meldrum, in his recollections, dated 1879, tells of making the first clothes pins used here. He made them at the bank for his mother. A number of his mother's friends, learning of the "new things," wanted them, so he went to work and made them and took them tied up in half dozens in a basket and sold them to the ladies at twenty-five cents per dozen. Mr. Meldrum says he thinks these were the first clothes pins made or used west of the mountains.

Meldrum remembered living in Columbus and going to Madison by stage on the first opening of the Madison and Indianapolis road, of the ride behind the locomotive, the "Elk Horn," borrowed at Louisville and taken by oxen to North Madison up the Michigan Road; also about Mr. W. G. Wharton going to Indianapolis on horseback with money collected as county treasurer (\$1,500 in a pair of saddle bags); of meeting a second and third treasurer on the same mission, and of the heavy rains and high creeks, and on reaching Clifty creek, near Columbus, it was found bank full and after hollowing several times, a man came in sight on the opposite bank and told them to wait and he would see what could be done. He went to a stable, got a trough, rolled it down to the water, bailed it out, got a paddle and started across just above the mill dam. Over he paddled and Mr. Wharton was induced to take the seat first and then take the saddle bags. He then went on his way.

On the northwest corner of Second and Central avenue, stands a house that long ago and for many years was the home

of the Leonard family. George M. Leonard built the house which in its day was one of no mean pretensions. Mr. Leonard was an honest and successful merchant. He was a man of more than ordinary modesty and dignity of character. He was of New England origin and a native of Massachusetts. In early life, before the use of steamboats on our western waters, he purchased in Boston and New York a small stock of goods which he wagoned to Pittsburg, there providing himself with a flat-boat, floated his entire fortune to New Orleans. Disposing of his goods at fair prices, he took the proceeds and converting them into notes of the bank of the United States, placed them in a leather belt, which for safety he buckled around his person and returned to Boston with his gains.

As there were neither boats nor stage routes in those days, Mr. Leonard concluded he would not invest his earnings in horseflesh nor in expensive passage by sea, to reach his home, so he adopted the more economical mode of making the trip on foot, which he successfully accomplished. Who is there of today who can parallel such an adventure or who possesses the will or pluck to undertake the passage alone and on foot from New Orleans to Boston, a large portion of the way through forests and uninhabited regions? But our early Madisonians were men of rugged will, sturdy pioneers whom hardship and danger never daunted; with whom to conceive an enterprise was only esteemed the preliminary step necessary to its accomplishment.

II. EARLY HISTORY OF MADISON

By JOHN VAWTER, April 13, 1850

Father, with six or eight other Kentuckians from Franklin and Scott counties, visited what was then called the New Purchase at a very early date. A part journeyed by land and a part by water. The land party crossed the Ohio River at Port William (Carrolton), the others descended the Kentucky and Ohio rivers in a pirogue to a point opposite Milton. The pirogue answered the double purpose of carrying forward the provisions of the company and enabling the men to pass from one bank to another, swimming their horses alongside. The company made their headquarters in the river bottom in

the western extremity of the city limits of Madison. In the day, the company divided into two parties, exploring the adjacent highlands to the head of Crooked creek and the neighboring lands of Clifty. They met at night and reported their discoveries. To Crooked creek, they gave the name of Mill creek; to Clifty, Hard Scrabble; but subsequently on learning the name of each stream, the red man's name prevailed with the settlers.

At that time, December, 1805, Elder Jesse Vawter selected the spot where Judge S. C. Stevens now resides on the hill. (This place is now, 1915, occupied by Dr. William R. Davidson.) He returned home and made every arrangement for taking possession of his new home early in the spring of 1806. He, with others, made the first settlement in and about Madison. Nearly all the settlements made in that year and the two or three succeeding years were made on the highlands. Among the first settlers in the county were Elder Jesse Vawter, James Underwood, Joshua Jockson, Colby Underwood and James Edward, all of the Baptist denomination. East of Crooked creek were Col. John Ryker, Paul Froman, Ralph Griffin, Joseph Lane and others, the last two families being Baptists. West and southwest were Col. Samuel Smock, James Arbuckle, Michael and Felix Monroe, Isaiah Blankenship, Amos Chitwood and others. The first corn was raised in Jefferson county in the year 1806, most of it being planted as late as June.

The first settlement made in the river bottom near Madison was by William and John Hall in 1806 or 1807, a little above Isom Ross's tan-yard (purchased by Johnathan Lyon in 1808). The second was made by John H. Wagoner on the high bank a little west of Main street, in Madison. (Main street, as it was then called, is now known as Jefferson street). Wagoner unloaded his boat on the tenth day of May, 1808, and immediately commenced building a house to live in. The third person who settled in the limits of the present city was Robert M. Trotter, afterwards a justice of the peace. The fourth was Joshua Wilkinson, a single man. The fifth was Joseph Strickland, afterwards justice of the peace, and with Strickland came a man by the name of Schofield, and perhaps others not recollected. Next came John Booth, the first inn-

keeper; then John Sering, Samuel Burnet, the second inn-keeper; then Charles Easton with a number of others, which brings us down to the time of the first sale of lots in Madison in February, 1811. During all the above time, all the preaching for twenty or thirty-five miles up and down the river and through the county was of the Baptist order. The first sermon ever delivered within the chartered limits of Madison was by Elder Jesse Vawter, among the cottonwoods on the river beach, a little above the stone mill. The text was the first verse, first chapter of the gospel of St. John. It was a funeral occasion, the death of Widow Slack. Mrs. Jonathan Lyon, mother of Philemon Vawter, closed the service. This was the first death and funeral preached in the vicinity of Madison.

After the land sales in May, 1808, and the sale of lots in Madison in 1811, the town and country commenced filling up pretty rapidly with settlers.

I was first justice of the peace within the vicinity of Madison while it was in Clark county. My commission bears the date of the sixteenth of July, 1808. The first judges for Jefferson county were Gen. William MacFarland, president of the court of common pleas, Samuel Smock and John Paul, second clerk, Richard C. Talbott, first sheriff, John Vawter. I am not certain but that Basil Bently was second sheriff in Jefferson county but very soon retired from office. The third sheriff was Thomas T. Stribling. The first court ever held in Jefferson county was held in a log cabin owned by John H. Wagoner, in February, 1811. The sale of the first lots in Madison (old town) was in the same month; the first proprietors, Col. John Paul, Jonathan Lyon and Louis Davis. The first addition west was surveyed by me for Col. John Paul. The first courthouse, called the Buckeye House, was built by myself for the proprietors. The first jail was a square log house, builder's name not recollected. First public house was kept by John Booth, second by Samuel Burnett, third by Major Henry Ristine.

The first store was owned by John Sering & Co., a drug store was started about the same time by Dr. Drake & Co., the third store was opened by S. C. Stevens, the fourth by myself, fifth by J. & N. Hunt, sixth by McCabe and Co., sev-

enth by Mr. Clarkston, eighth by John McIntyre. The first physician was of the name of Fiske, second, James Hicks, third John Howes, fourth David H. Maxwell. The first attorney-general, Alex A. Meek, second a man by the name of Oulds, third, Gen. William Hendricks. The first dray ever used in Madison was owned by Simeon Reynolds, and managed by his most excellent son, William W. Reynolds.

I was personally acquainted with the first proprietors of the town. A more excellent or upright man than Colonel Paul was hard to find. He was one of Gen. George Rogers Clark's bold adventurous soldiers, who aided in the capture of Kaskaskia and Vincennes. He was elected one of the representatives from Clark county in the year 1810. This was previous to the formation of Jefferson county and Colonel Paul then resided at Madison.

I was crier of the first sale of lots in Madison, but had nothing to do with the surveying or laying out of the same. I laid out the first addition west of Broadway for Colonel Paul in the winter of 1814-15. Had nothing to do with any addition to the town.

My second visit to Indiana was in May 1806. I came in a pirogue and landed a little above the stone mill opposite Milton, visited the highlands east and west of Crooked creek, continued at my father's half faced shanty until near the middle of June in order to assist him in getting his corn planted, returned in the same craft with my mother and other relatives to Frankfort, Kentucky. In September, 1806, my father moved his family from Kentucky to Mount Glad, the place where Judge S. C. Stevens now resides. In December, 1806, I made my third visit to Indiana in company of John Branham. He aided in driving my father's cattle and fattened and stock hogs from his Kentucky residence to his new home in what was then a wilderness. At this time, I made a selection of a place to move my family to in the spring. It was the identical spot where the depot and machine shops of the railroad company are now on the hill. In March, 1807, I arrived with my family, wife and one child at my originally selected site in the woods. In 1808, I built a house on the hill

(Michigan) nearly opposite Godman's creek and resided there until 1812. In this year, I purchased property in Madison and moved to it. The property purchased by me was two lots on Main Cross street, east of Polley & Butler's iron store and west of Mulberry street. In 1814, I sold both lots to Mr. David McClure. In the winter of 1815, I purchased of Colonel Paul the corner now owned by George M. Phelps, and built a large farm-house, large for the size of Madison. Had the water conveyed by pipes, in connection with Colonel Paul, from the hill at Hites. In the same year, I sold it also to David McClure, moved to Vernon in November, 1849, with my family. Since November, 1849, I have resided in Morgantown, Morgan county, Indiana.

III. ADVENTURES OF EARLY SETTLERS

By ROBERT and ALEXANDER MILLER

It is said that when an Indian story-teller relates the history and the folk-lore legends of his tribe, he always begins by saying: "This is what my grandfather told me when I was a little boy."

Now, I am not an Indian nor much of a story-teller, but I am going to write a few homely incidents of pioneer life and I am going to begin just as though I were a Cherokee Indian historian, and will say before I begin that the incidents of which I write were related to me, from his own personal knowledge, by my grandfather, as we sat before the wood fire in the wide old fire place, years and years ago.

"This is what my grandfather told me when I was a little boy."

His father came, with his wife and one child, from Buncombe county, North Carolina, in the early years of the nineteenth century. They came, with other settlers, by way of the old Indian trace (warrior's trace), a footpath used by the Indians, leading from the mountains of the southern states to the wilderness and Great Lakes of the north. The journey was made on horseback, the few household goods packed on one horse, the wife and child on another, while the husband and father walked alongside, with his trusty rifle ready for immediate business.

The little company settled in the western part of Jefferson county, along Neil's creek and my grandfather was born in a block-house where the village of Kent now stands, and which was then called Dobbinsville. Neil's creek was named for a man of that name who was lost in the woods while hunting cattle, and having no means of kindling a fire, crept into a hollow log to spend the night and was frozen to death.

The settlement was soon cleared, the land was new and strong and good crops were almost a certainty. But the settlers were compelled, much against their will, to share with the original denizens of the forests. Bears, deer, squirrels and wild turkeys made sad inroads on grain fields and the deer helped the settlers to dispose of the tobacco crop, eating the green leaves, to the last vestige, they being, curiously enough, the only animal that will eat "the weed."

Squirrels were by far the most troublesome animals, and late in summer and fall, they collected in the field in hordes. Three or four times each day, all the men and boys, and often the women and girls, went through the fields with some noise-making instrument, usually a "horse-fiddle," and frightened them out. Usually the frightening was done by one member of the family, while the others patrolled the fences and with the aid of the dogs, of which there was always from one to a dozen, slew the little rodents by dozens as they left the fields. The hams of the squirrels were preserved, salted and smoked in the wide mouthed chimneys, while the dogs fell heir to the remainder.

The woods abounded with deer and there was little trouble in supplying even the largest families with fresh venison. One of the favorite means of securing fine deer was to kill them after nightfall about the "licks or sulphur springs," where they came to drink in the darkness. This feat was accomplished by placing on the bank near the springs and on the windward side, a bit of spongy, rotten root of the sugar maple or beech tree, known as "fox-fire," (probably a corruption or phosphor), which shone with a phosphorescent glow in the darkness, on the opposite side of the Lick, a rifle placed on two crotched sticks was trained on the fox-fire, and a blind of green boughs thrust into the ground concealed the hunter. When the deer came to drink, the hunter waited until he came

in range and when the fox-fire was hidden from view, he knew the deer was where he wanted him. Then a touch on the trigger, a flash, a report, and nine times out of ten the deer was his.

My great-grandfather was an adept at this mode of hunting and on one occasion he met with an adventure which, but for the watchful presence of his dog, might have been serious. He had gone to a "lick" not far from home, had fixed his paraphernalia before dark and settled down to wait for the coming of a deer. He waited for three hours with the dog at his side but no deer rewarded his patience. The dog was uneasy and several times started up with a growl at a rustling in the leaves near at hand, but at a word from his master lay down again. Finally the old man's patience was exhausted and taking up his gun, he arose to return home. The dog growled and raised his bristles, scenting an unseen enemy. His master gave him permission to go and he needed no second bidding. He darted into the shadows and in a twinkling was mixed up in a terrific combat with a hidden foe, while the amazed hunter stood with his gun ready to shoot, but afraid to do so for fear of killing his dog. Finally, after a desperate struggle, the combatants drew apart for a moment and the hunter stepped forward, and with the muzzle of his rifle almost touching the animal fired. Dragged into the light, the animal proved to be an enormous wildcat which had also been deer hunting, and, meeting with no success, had started man-hunting instead, and except for the presence of the faithful dog, would undoubtedly have attacked him in the screen of boughs.

Panthers or "painters" as they were called in those days were also numerous and committed many depredations on live stock and poultry and would even attack a human when hungry. One summer afternoon my great-grandfather took his rifle and strolled out into the woods, seeking some stray calves. Passing along a path in the edge of the woods, he experienced that indefinable feeling we all have when under the fixed steady gaze of another's eye. Lifting his eyes, he met those of a huge panther crouched on the top of a sapling which had been broken down about twelve feet from the ground, resting on the stub. The animal was ready for a spring, but

the hunter was too quick for him and a rifle ball brought him to mother earth.

A record of pioneer life without a bear hunt would be incomplete so I will tell you of two in which my own grandfather took part, hila-hi-yu (long ago), as the Indian story teller would say. Two young ladies returning late in the afternoon from a visit to a neighbor, saw a bear come out of the cornfield just ahead of them, cross the path and shamble into the woods. There had been much complaint in the neighborhood concerning the depredations of a bear which had stolen pigs, chickens and other things good for a bear's appetite, but whose lair could not be located. Here was a chance to track the robber home and the girls instantly took advantage of it. Keeping themselves hidden from the bear, they followed him through the woods for half a mile until he disappeared in the hollow top of a huge leaning maple tree. Then, knowing that he was safe for a time, the girls hastened home and informed their fathers. No time was lost. The neighbors were summoned and in a short time a dozen men armed with guns and axes and guided by the two girls, surrounded the tree. A huge fire was kindled to light up the scene, for it was now dark in the forest, and while two sturdy axe-men fell to chopping at the base of the trees, the others disposed themselves near where the top of the tree would strike the ground, expecting to make an easy conquest of bruin when he appeared, stunned by the shock of the falling tree. In half an hour the tree came crashing down, splitting open from end to end, but no bear appeared. The hunters stared in surprise until a yell from one of the axe men called their attention and the clumsy beast appeared climbing out of the stump. With one accord, the riflemen ran toward the butt of the tree and as the high animal shambled away amid the treacherous shadows, every gun in the party was discharged in his direction, but so far as could be learned, not a bullet touched him and he disappeared in the darkness.

One Sunday afternoon, late in the summer, my grandfather, who was then about grown, with another young man about the same age, went home from church or Sabbath school with a neighbor's son to take supper and remain until time for evening services. After supper, the man and his wife

left the three boys to "do the chores," and started to church. After completing the chores, the boys started off just before dark. The path led through a "windfall," a tangled mass of logs and brush overgrown with blackberry briars, grape vines, whipsedge and bushes. About the middle of this delightful place, they stumbled on to a small black bear which had killed a pig and was making a meal of him. When the boys appeared, the bear left his quarry and darted into the thicket, but knowing that he would not go far, two of the boys remained on guard while the third returned to the house for a gun. When he returned, the three boys endeavored to get a shot at bruin, but he was too shy to venture into the open. He could be heard sniffing, grunting and crashing through the tangle but was too wary to venture into view. At last the boys lost their patience and started through the jungle in pursuit and for two hours they played hide-and-seek with bruin in the moonlight, until the man and his wife returned from church, when the boys learned that the gun they carried was empty. When they realized the risk they had taken in chasing a hungry bear for three hours with an empty gun, their only consolation was in knowing that it was a cowardly little black bear and not a war-like grizzly.

One more incident and I am done. A lady returning from a visit to a sick neighbor, just before dark one evening, discovered that she was being followed by a panther. She quickened her pace and the animal did the same. When she slackened her footsteps, the panther did likewise. Knowing that the brute would overtake her, she took refuge in a deserted cabin in a small clearing, hoping to outwit him. Instead of passing, however, he came up and clawed at the door. The woman climbed into the loft and the panther soon clambered to the roof and began tearing at the boards. Fearing that the panther would gain an entrance, she descended and the animal did the same. All night long the game of hide-and-seek went on until daylight appeared, when the panther was frightened away by a passing hunter and the woman released. The strain and horror of that terrible night in the lonely cabin, besieged by the savage beast was too much for her nerves and she died a few days later from the effects of sheer fright. This lady's name, if I remember rightly, was Gowans.

IV. THE MADISON AND INDIANAPOLIS RAILROAD

By C. G. SAPPINGTON

One of the first railroads built west of the Alleghenies was the Madison and Indianapolis railroad, now a part of the Louisville Division of the Pittsburg, Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis road. The actual work of building the road was commenced in the year 1836, at which time the Ohio river was one of the great highways of Madison, one of the gateways of commerce. Her citizens had every reason to believe she would become one of the chief cities of the west; great pork houses were built, and other industries established. She then managed a trade over hundreds of miles of territory and it was to increase this trade that a railroad was projected and built. The very thing that men sixty years ago expected to advance the interest of Madison, only had a tendency to turn the tide backwards.

Mr. Milton Stapp, a lawyer of prominence in those days, argued for the building of the road before several sessions of the legislature, but without success until the Internal Improvement Act was passed, January 27, 1836, and work on the Madison and Indianapolis railroad was commenced by the State soon after. The following composed the engineering corps that surveyed the road from Madison to Indianapolis: Jesse F. Williams, chief engineer; Gen. Thomas R. Morris, resident engineer; John Woodburn, acting State commissioner; Edward W. Beckwith, resident engineer; R. M. Patterson, J. H. Sprague, J. B. Bacon, John Mitchell and William Clyde, assistant engineers. James Tilden, John G. Sering, William V. Utter and W. Hoyt, rodmen; Richard J. Cox, J. T. Burns, William Spann and J. Vanosdol, axmen. William Stough and A. W. Flint were the contractors who built the first section of the Madison hill (or plane), beginning at the foot of the plane, including the Crooked creek culvert and trestle at Third street to the upper end of Big Cut. Joseph Henderson built the second section, commencing at the upper end of first cut to upper end of second (or Big) cut. James Giddings built the third section to the top of the plane, David C. Branham and F. W. Monroe the first section beyond North Madison, Robert Cresswell the next, and Danville Branham the next,

which reached Wirt station, six miles from Madison. The contractors who built the remaining portion to Vernon (22 miles from Madison) were David Pallertine, Samuel Lefever, J. D. Fanel, Edward Fanel, John Carnahan, Thomas Hays, Adam Eichelberger, A. Hallom & Co., Rundell Bird & Co., Cochran & Douchett, William McKenzie, Overhaltz & Goodhue, William Griffith and John Carboy. Other contractors completed the road beyond Vernon.

The road was completed to the different points on the line as follows:

Graham, 17 miles from Madison, Nov. 29, 1838.

Vernon, 22 miles from Madison, June 6, 1839.

Queensville, 27.8 miles from Madison, June 1, 1841.

Scipio, 30.3 miles from Madison, June 1, 1843.

Elizabethtown, 37.3 miles from Madison, September, 1843.

Columbus, 44.9 miles from Madison, July, 1844.

Edinburg, 55.4 miles from Madison, Sept. 8, 1845.

Franklin, 65.5 miles from Madison, Sept. 1, 1846.

Indianapolis, 86 miles from Madison, Oct. 1, 1847.

When it was opened for business as far as Graham, the State leased it on the last of April, 1839, to Robert Branham, Elias Stapp, D. C. Branham and W. H. Branham, who continued in charge until June, 1840. Under the terms of the lease the State was to receive 40% of the gross receipts, the lessees to bear all the expenses of operating. The expense was not very great as Mr. R. J. Elvin, who was connected with the road for over fifty years but is now dead, did all the clerical work for the road and Mr. Bartholomew Tierney all the blacksmithing and repair work necessary in those days. Mr. John G. Sering, State agent, was on all trains to look after the interests of the State. The trains would leave North Madison in the morning and run to Graham, returning in the evening. The gross receipts the first month were \$849.38, and for the first fifteen months were \$15,702.00, which was a good showing in that period. The next lessees were John G. Sering and William Bust, from June, 1840, to June, 1841, when the State again took charge.

The road was completed to Queensville at this time and the State was out of money, so the work was delayed for some months. John Woodburn, Victor King and George W. Leon-

ard, of Madison, started a bank in 1841, issued bills (called Woodburn's bank bills) and assisted the State in building the road to Scipio, three miles farther north. On February 21, 1843, the State sold the road to the Madison & Indianapolis Railroad Co., N. B. Barber, president, for \$600,000.00, who gave mortgage to the State for the full amount, but by manipulation the company got it from the legislature for \$75,000.00 in 5% State bonds worth on the market about fifty cents on the dollar, making the net cost \$37,500.00. It was considered a clear case of thieving from start to finish. The State paid out for the building and equipment of the line to Queensville \$1,624,291.93, of which \$62,493.21 was from tolls. The owners of the road then completed it to Indianapolis.

The inclined plane between Madison and North Madison was commenced in 1836 and completed in 1841. It is 7,012 feet long, with a total elevation of 413 feet or 311 feet to the mile. There are two cuts on the plane, one 65 feet and the other 100 feet deep, cut through the solid rock. Previous to the completion of the plane, passengers were transferred between Madison and North Madison by omnibus. An old resident of Madison, Mr. William Stapp, brother of one of the first lessees of the road, says: "The omnibus did not always leave on time. When the driver would hear that the mayor or some other dignitary was to leave on that train, he would wait an hour for the great man's arrival." When the plane was completed, the cars were let down the incline by gravity and hauled back with eight horses driven tandem to each car. The stables were located at the foot of the plane and Joshua McCauley and Robert Hackney were the drivers. Horses were used from 1841 to November 1848, when Andrew Cathcart's improved engine with two sets of cylinders and a pinion working in a rack in the center of the track was put in use and gave good satisfaction until Reuben Wells built the engine "Reuben Wells" (634) in July, 1868. Andrew Cathcart was master mechanic of the Madison & Indianapolis Railroad Company, and drew plans for the improved (or cog) engine as it was called, went to Baldwin's works in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and superintended the building of it.

The following are the wrecks occurring on the plane: Nov. 4, 1845, a passenger car was being let down the hill,

when a wood car following became unmanagable and crashed into the coach, killing John Lodge, the first railroad conductor in the State, and several others. Engine "M. G. BRIGHT" (635) blew up at the foot of the plane in 1877, killing engineer Lindley and a citizen of North Madison named Hassfurder. The above are the only fatalities occurring on the plane.

The practice of letting all freight and passenger cars down the incline by gravity was continued until 1880, at which time, Col. J. R. Shaler, superintendent of the Jeffersonville, Madison and Indianapolis railroad issued orders requiring the hill engine to be attached in the rear of all cars coming down and going up the incline. This order is still effective.

That portion of the road built by the State was laid with English iron rails rolled at Wales, England, weighing 45 pounds to the yard and in three different lengths—15 feet, 18 feet and 15 feet 9 inches. They were shipped by vessel to New Orleans and by boat up the Mississippi and Ohio rivers to Madison and cost \$75.00 per ton delivered. They were laid on cedar ties which were fastened to a sill by a locust pin twelve inches in length. The sills were 10 x 10 and cost eight cents per lineal foot. Cedar ties cost twenty-five cents each, but proved too soft to hold spikes and were taken up within five years and sold for fence posts at 12½ cents. Locust ties proved too hard, so oak was substituted which cost the same as cedar.

The first iron was laid, August, 1838. Some of the old rails were taken up in 1893 and sent to the Chicago exposition. When the rails were received, they were marked by cutting a square hole half an inch in diameter in each end. Two of them are now in service at North Madison just opposite the door of the old blacksmith shop. Many of them were taken up and mixed with other iron for the building of the Louisville bridge.

In an interview with Mr. Elvin recently, he said John Lodge was the first conductor on the Madison & Indianapolis railroad. He also had the title of superintendent from June 1, 1841, to March, 1842. W. J. McClure was the first agent, appointed March 1, 1842, and served until February 18, 1843. Samuel Thomas was the first master mechanic and general manager, Henry Jackson the first engineer, F. Fleming the

second and F. Lunger the third. The first three firemen were Jacob Bitterman, William Copeland, and William Baugh. They ran the three locomotives owned by the company. The first passenger coach was built by Thomas L. Paine and Son, of Madison, in the fall of 1838, but not used until March, 1839. It was very plain with small windows near the top of the car, lever brakes, and was about thirty feet long. The freight cars came from the east, via New Orleans, had four wheels and a capacity of twenty-five or thirty hogs, or 10,000 pounds. When the first seventeen miles of road were completed from North Madison to Graham (17 miles) an arrangement for a grand excursion was made as the first locomotive was expected to arrive from Baldwin & Co.'s works at Philadelphia. It had been shipped on a vessel around by New Orleans. During the passage, the ship was caught in a storm and the locomotive was thrown overboard along with other freight in order to save the ship. The governor, State officials, members of the legislature, and a number of other prominent men from various places having been invited to participate in the festivities of the occasion, the management determined not to disappoint them. As it had been given out that on Tuesday, November 29, 1838, they would be treated to a real "steam car" ride, arrangements were made to borrow the locomotive "Elkhorn" from the Louisville & Portland Railroad Company, at Louisville, Kentucky, for the occasion, on account of the loss of the new one expected from Philadelphia. The locomotive was hauled from the east end of the track at Louisville and placed on a boat which was used in transporting stone from the quarries east of Madison to be used in the construction of the courthouse at Louisville and the boat was then towed to Madison where the locomotive was unloaded and then taken up the hill to North Madison by a man named Martin. It required five yoke of oxen to haul it up the dirt road and it was done amid great excitement. On Sunday afternoon following the arrival of the first "steam car" that ever turned a wheel in Indiana, it was understood that the engineer would raise steam and see that it was in good order for the grand excursion, and nearly everybody in Madison and vicinity tramped to North Madison to see the wonderful machine work. It proved to be in good order but to the dis-

appointment of the people there assembled, an exhibition of its locomotive power was reserved for the grand blow-out in presence of the governor on Tuesday, November 29. Great preparations were made for the reception of the distinguished guests. A banquet was spread in an old frame building on the river front in Madison and the Hon. Jesse D. Bright was master of ceremonies on this auspicious occasion, and as he never did anything by halves, you can judge of the magnitude of the demonstration.

The day for the grand "steam car ride" arrived and all the people of the surrounding country turned out to see the sight. The governor and distinguished guests were on hand and after the cars were filled with passengers, the "Elkhorn" with a full head of steam moved off like a thing of life to the astonishment of the assembled multitude. After running to Graham and back, the governor and party took carriages for the city, where they partook of the banquet awaiting them. There was more noise and excitement made over the seventeen mile ride than there would be now over a trip to California in a balloon. During the trip one of the guests remarked that they had actually attained a speed of eight miles per hour and he really believed that some day they would be able to make fifteen miles per hour.

The borrowed locomotive was returned to Louisville and safely delivered to the Louisville & Portland Railroad Company. The expense of bringing it to Madison and returning it again amounted to \$1,052. This stroke of enterprise was commended by the entire State and was heralded abroad, but not by telegraph as such a thing was unknown in those days.

After the loss of the first locomotive, a duplicate order was sent to Baldwin & Company and the first locomotive owned by the Madison & Indianapolis Railroad Company arrived safely in Madison the first week in March, 1839, and on the sixteenth of that month, a trial trip was made over the finished portion of the road. From November 29, 1838, until the arrival of the first locomotive in March, 1839, the construction train was operated by horses, one passenger car passing over the road daily. The road was formally opened for public traffic, April 1, 1839, as far as Graham. While John Brough was president of the Madison and Indianapolis

Railroad Company, he spent over \$100,000.00 of the company's money trying to get a charter from the State of Illinois for a road to St. Louis, Missouri, but failed. He also attempted to build a road between Madison and North Madison to avoid the steep incline plane and after spending \$309,000, the work was abandoned on account of the company being out of funds. The old road bed, tunnels and abutments for bridges can be plainly seen to this day. Brough was a smart man but a poor manager. He induced the directors to purchase two steamboats, the "Alvin Adams" and the "David White," at a cost of \$70,000. They proved a bad investment and almost a total loss.

The first freight depot owned by the company was an old pork house at Madison, purchased in 1849 from a man named Flint, and cost, including repairs, \$8,416.09. The passenger station was built in 1850 at a cost of \$4,094.32. It had a cupola and bell which was rung for five minutes one-half hour before the departure of each train. The ringing of this bell was continued until 1888, when it was cracked. The company tried to discontinue the old-time practice of ringing the half-hour bell several times, but the old residents protested to such an extent that it was continued as long as the bell lasted.

Things were run pretty loose on the road in those early days, and no check was kept on any of the employees handling the company's funds. The favored ones remitted what and when they pleased. Previous to the use of tickets on trains, the conductor would fill out a blank with name of passenger, starting and stopping point and amount of fare collected. This was sent to the president, who kept the record in his office. Madison was the second pork-packing city in the west and the road did a big business hauling hogs during the winter months. In the year 1852 they handled 124,000 hogs.

V PIONEER DAYS OF THE MADISON & INDIANAPOLIS RAILROAD COMPANY

By JOHN R. CRAVENS, February 27, 1896

John Brough was president of the Madison and Indianapolis railroad at a salary of \$3,000 and I was vice-president at a salary of \$1,500 per annum. Brough was an educated man

and a splendid speaker, but not a railroad manager. When we leased the Muncie road in 1852, we arranged for an excursion to Muncie. A few days before the day set, Brough wanted to back out as he was afraid we would lose money and not get the cars back in time to load hogs for Madison the next days. The hog trade was our main traffic and as we had so few coaches, we were often forced to use the hog cars for passengers by making seats in them of clean lumber. I persuaded him to run the train and greatly to our surprise, we could not carry the people—turning away hundreds. We cleared over \$1,000.

Our road was run in connection with a line of steamboats, the "David White," "Alvin Adams" and "Jacob Strader." We had our own wharfboat and sometimes received three and four hundred people per day from the boats. This would necessitate extra trains, which were often delayed awaiting the arrival of hog trains from the north in order to get cars to load the passengers in. I would have to act in the capacity of conductor in emergencies and had some strange experiences.

I was bringing a hog train from Indianapolis one day when the engineer wanted to get off at his home out on the road and he asked me to act as engineer, to which I readily assented and got along all right until I attempted to back the engine into the roundhouse at North Madison and went clear through the brick wall.

Our new engine and cars were shipped from the east as far as they could be by rail and we would send ox teams to meet them and haul them to our track. We afterward received them by lake and rail to Cincinnati, thence by boat to Madison. Brough was very independent and made the directors of his road believe they had the greatest monopoly of the age. We had leased the Belfontaine & Muncie roads and newly projected lines were anxious for us to take hold of their schemes and push them to completion. When the Ohio and Mississippi railroad was building they wanted to come via Madison and at a meeting of the directors of the two roads, Brough in his positive way declined to have anything to do with them, saying: "The Madison & Indianapolis can not father all the paupers in the country." He made the same

remark in 1853 when Chauncey Rose, of the Terre Haute road wanted to lease his line to the Madison & Indianapolis and Mr. Rose replied in a forcible manner: "By God, gentlemen, you don't have to and we will see who will be the paupers within two years," and he did. Brough ruined the Madison & Indianapolis trying to build a road to avoid the steep incline plane at Madison, called "Brough's Folly."

In 1853, the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher was preaching in Madison and being anxious to visit our shops on the hill, I took him up in my carriage and suggested to him that we go down the incline in the "buggy," (a four-wheeled handcar with a seat on each end and lever brakes). We were going pretty fast and I asked him if I should check up. He replied in the negative, saying it was the first opportunity of his life to ride fast and I let her go until the reverend gentleman with a wave of his hand said "too fast." He spoke of it afterwards as the fastest travel of his life.

Years ago it was said that the reason such an incline was built at Madison was that State Commissioner John Woodburn owned the ground through which the first cut was built and conceived the idea that the railroad running through his place would enhance its value, and arranged to have his prospective son-in-law, Edward Beckwith, appointed engineer in charge, otherwise the grade might have been longer, but of less magnitude. Beckwith afterward turned out bad and had to flee the country.

Terre Haute in 1850 ¹

By DR. JOHN J. SCHLICHER, Professor of Latin in the Indiana State Normal School

AS originally laid out in 1816, the site of Terre Haute was a rectangular piece of ground, seven blocks north and south by five blocks east and west. The land was on the east bank of the Wabash river, which there rises some thirty to fifty feet above the water at the point where it is crossed by the National road. One block, exactly in the center, was reserved for a public square, and here, a few years later, the courthouse was built. Besides this, two further sites, each one-fourth of a block in extent, were set apart, one for a seminary and the other for a church. These were located an equal distance, respectively, east and northeast of the courthouse square.² The former is today still occupied by one of the city schools, while on the latter was erected the church building known as the old Asbury Chapel, now used as a livery barn. When Vigo became a separate county in 1818, and Terre Haute was made the county seat, an additional tier of blocks was added on the south, making forty blocks in all, and extending from the river east to Fifth street, and from Eagle street on the north to Oak street on the south. It was within this space that, with very few exceptions, the 4,605 inhabitants of Terre Haute in 1850 still lived.³

Mr. J. R. Beste, an English gentleman who stopped at the Prairie House, at Seventh and Main, in the summer of 1851, speaks of going to town from there across the commons.⁴ The picture in his book which is intended to present the view which he had of the town from the hotel, shows no houses

¹ A paper read before the Terre Haute Literary Club, Feb. 5, 1916.

² At the corner of Fourth and Mulberry and Fourth and Poplar streets.

³ Even in 1858, when the first city directory was issued, and the population had grown to nearly twice what it was in 1850, there were only scattered dwellings as far north as Locust street, and along the roads leading into the country. Outside of these and a small settlement in the neighborhood of Twelfth and Chestnut, the population then lived south and west of the old canal, i. e., the Vandalia and C. and E. B. R. R.

⁴ A regular bus ran from the hotel to down, *Wabash Courier*, Dec. 2, 1850.

along Sixth street, except the Congregational church and a few near the crossing of Sixth and Main.⁵ His description of the town in 1851 is interesting as a contemporary document.

Prairie House was situated at the entrance of the town and on one side of the National road, and was separated from the town by a common. It did not stand alone, however, as Dr. Ezra Read's house was very near on the opposite side of the road and of a little green. There was also a cluster of other houses or villas in the neighborhood that belonged to the more wealthy of the inhabitants. But from the hotel to the town there was a very disagreeable hot walk in the sun, for it was not bordered by trees. At the end of it began the High street of the town, which was lined on each side by stores. There was a square on the left hand side, where trees shaded the pavement all around from the boiling sun above. On one side of the square was the other hotel of the town, "Browne's House." It was considered to be more noisy and frequented than the Prairie House.⁶

The courthouse of 1850, which stood where the present one stands, is shown by an old illustration to have been a square, two-story building, similar to the old statehouse at Corydon, with a hip-roof surmounted by a slender tower which terminated in a small, round dome.⁷ In 1849 the building and its surroundings moved one of the newspapers⁸ to say that it was a "handsome piece of architecture surrounded by locusts and enclosed with good palings."⁹ The north and west sides of the square were lit up, according to the account, "so as to amount almost to an illumination." That the average citizen also took pride in the square appears from the following editorial of the previous year:

"We cannot answer inquiries of XYZ about the courthouse yard. How much the county gets for pasturing horses, hogs and cows, we know not. Whether the young trees have been skinned as a matter of embellishment we cannot answer. Whether the gates are of patent swing and always closed, is one great proposition which others must answer, and not us."¹⁰

⁵ Beste, *The Wabash*, 2 vols. in which he describes his travels and his stay in Terre Haute.

⁶ Beste, *The Wabash*, II, 136-7.

⁷ Condit, *The History of Early Terre Haute*, 67.

⁸ *Wabash Courier*, Nov. 24, '49.

⁹ The locust was the common ornamental tree in Terre Haute at the time, *Terre Haute Express*, May 17, 1848.

¹⁰ *Wabash Courier*, Jan. 29, '48.

In response to a petition that same year, the courthouse bell was rung at noon and at 9 p. m., for which services \$80 a year was allowed.¹¹ Three years later the ringing of the evening bell was abolished, and the bell-ringer's salary was cut in two.

In 1850 this courthouse was already an old building, as buildings went in those days. For seven years it had not been considered adequate to accommodate all of the county's business, part of which was housed in a second building, known as the Town Hall, which had been put up jointly by the county and the city, near the northeast corner of Third and Ohio.¹² One can imagine that the city's business was not very great in 1850. At least in 1843, when the actual town hall was built, the total income of the city from taxes was \$1,089.14. The tax rate of the previous year had been ten cents on the \$100.¹³ The rate for 1850 was fourteen cents.¹⁴

Some years before the date of our account, the block west of the courthouse square had burned down, and the present brick building had been put up.¹⁵ They give a good idea of the business buildings of the time before 1850, with their long, sloping roofs divided into sections by low brick walls, from which the chimneys rise. A Catholic building, which still stands on the south side of the square, is the old State Bank, with its massive Doric portico, erected in 1834.¹⁶ Fires often led to improvements in those days, and it was one of these in December, 1850¹⁷ which cleared the ground for some of the brick blocks which are still standing northeast of the square.¹⁸ The newspapers speak of the handsome appearance of these buildings and comment especially on the row

¹¹ April 3, '48. Council records in Oakey, *Greater Terre Haute and Vigo County*, 115.

¹² This latter building, which had been erected, as we read, to furnish fire proof quarters for the public records, burned down in 1864, whereupon the present building on that corner was put up, by the county. Bradsby, *History of Vigo County*, 302.

¹³ Bradsby, *History of Vigo County*, 435.

¹⁴ *Wabash Courier*, May 11, '50

¹⁵ In Dec. '41 according to Oakey, *Greater Terre Haute and Vigo County*, 145.

¹⁶ Now used as a museum.

¹⁷ *Wabash Courier*, Dec. 9.

¹⁸ Considerable building activity in this quarter is mentioned in 1850. *Wabash Courier*, Feb. 23 and Sept. 23, '50, May 3 and 31, '51.

of small, square windows in the place of those along the north side of Wabash avenue.¹⁹

The fire department was one of the most interesting features of Terre Haute in 1850. Each of the five wards had a fire warden, it appears, appointed for five years.²⁰ To obtain a quick and sufficient supply of water, the common council originally allowed \$3.00 for the first hogshead delivered at a fire, \$2.00 for the second, and \$1.00 for the third, and 25 cents for each succeeding hogshead till the fire was extinguished.²¹ This liberal allowance was cut down, however, in 1847, to about half.²²

Most of the business in 1850 was done on the streets bounding the square. What is Wabash avenue, or Main street, now, was then often spoken of as National Road street, and the present Third street was always called Market street. This street was well suited for the purposes of a market, being one hundred feet wide. In the latter part of 1849 we read of a new brick market house being erected near the canal, which had just been opened, to accommodate the north side of town.²³ An ordinance of the next year fixes the market hours from November till April at twelve to two o'clock, and for the rest of the year at from forty minutes before sunrise to an hour and a half after sunrise.²⁴

New city ordinances were rather common in those years. One provided that hereafter no person or persons shall be permitted to feed horses, cows, hogs and other domestic animals upon any of the sidewalks of the town of Terre Haute, under a penalty of one dollar with costs of suit for each and every offense.²⁵ Soon after this the sign boards hanging across the streets were ordered taken down. It must have been a serious state of things whose abatement moved the editor of the *Courier* to the following effusion: "We can now see daylight from one end of the street to the other. Before it was a hard matter to look through canvas, plank, tin and sheet iron, not to say anything about the danger of

¹⁹ *Wabash Courier*, June 28, '51.

²⁰ Bradsby, *History of Vigo County*, 450.

²¹ Bradsby, *History of Vigo County*, 450.

²² *Terre Haute Express*, Mar. 3, '47.

²³ *Wabash Courier*, Nov. 24, '49.

²⁴ *Terre Haute Express*, Mar. 3, '47.

²⁵ *Wabash Courier*, May 8, 50'.

becoming cross-eyed from the inequality of the posts and lettering.”²⁶ Another ordinance that same summer was to remove the hitching posts from the north side of the square.²⁷ This was followed promptly by still another against letting horses or cattle stand on the sidewalks, and against hitching them to the paling of the courthouse fence.²⁸

There seems to have been an ordinance also against letting your team run away in town. At least we read of two men being fined \$10.00 apiece for that offense, which was later reduced to \$5.00 by the city council, “owing to extenuating circumstances.”²⁹ On August 30, 1848, the *Express* says that frightened horses in harness “split past the office like lightning once a week on the average.”

The extent of the city’s business is roughly apparent from the fact that in 1843 there were one hundred and twelve establishments carrying on forty-three kinds of business, which ranged, as our informant says, “from gunsmiths to plowers.”³⁰ The great variety of different kinds of business in such a small town is remarkable, but it was part of the necessary condition of things before the time of railroads, when each community had to be more or less self-sufficing. Some kinds of business found in 1850 are extinct, or nearly so, in Terre Haute today. The directory of 1858 still has the following: Boat builder, brass founder, cooper, dealer in cooper’s tools, coppersmith, fur and skin dealer, gunsmith, rope maker, soap and candle manufacturer, and a woolen factory. Photographers were just coming in in 1850, but they were usually called Daguerrean artists.

The most extensive business in 1850 was pork-packing, not only in Terre Haute, but at all the towns, large and small, up and down the Wabash river. The meat was packed in barrels, usually, and shipped to New Orleans and other towns on the rivers in flatboats. Altogether, nearly 10,000,000 pounds of pork and lard were said to have been shipped down

²⁶ May 5, '51.

²⁷ *Wabash Courier*, Aug. 23, '51.

²⁸ *Wabash Courier*, Aug. 30, '51.

²⁹ *Terre Haute Express*, July 12, '48.

³⁰ Bradsby, *History of Vigo County*, 434. The information is from a memorandum deposited in the corner-stone of the town hall, by S. P. Crawford, the treasurer of the town from 1832-1852.

the Wabash in a year.³¹ The number of hogs packed in the various towns nearby in the year of 1850-1 is given as follows:

Terre Haute ³²	66,600	Montezuma	5,000
Graysville	13,000	Durkee's Ferry	5,000
Vincennes	11,000	Hutsonville	4,400
Clinton	10,000	Merom	1,700
Newport	5,000	Darwin ³³	1,200

The only other town on the Wabash which packed over 10,000 hogs was Lafayette, with 38,600. Nearly 24,000 of the hogs killed in Terre Haute were, according to the toll-keepers of the wagon bridge, driven across the river in the last seven months of 1850, along with over 13,000 beef cattle.³⁴ The pork-packing establishments in the city were located on the river front, north and south of the bridge, which at that time crossed the river from the foot of Ohio street. The cooperage business was located just east of the slaughter houses. In 1848 the coopers had formed a union here to maintain a uniform price for barrels.³⁵

The advertisements of the time give a somewhat vivid picture of the city's business life. A distinct feature was the amount of space taken by firms in wholesale centers, like Louisville, Cincinnati, New Orleans and others, where the merchants of Terre Haute went from time to time to replenish their stock. These advertisements were surpassed in size and impressiveness only by those of patent medicines. But the art of advertising, as we understand it, was not yet highly developed. Only a few as yet used large type, and the illustrations, as a rule, were stecco-typed—a settee and a few chairs with curved legs for furniture, a five-story playhouse for a hotel, a phoenix rising out of the flames for fire insurance, etc. But what the advertisements lacked in typographical display, they often made up in other ways, and, on the whole, they surpassed those of today as a steady diet for reading. The language of the ordinary advertisement strikes

³¹ *Wabash Courier*, June 29, '50.

³² A few years later it was over 100,000, Oakey, *Greater Terre Haute and Vigo County*, 202.

³³ *Wabash Courier*, Feb. 1, '51.

³⁴ *Wabash Courier*, Jan. 4, '51.

³⁵ *Terre Haute Express*, Jan. 12, '48. Their example was followed by the carpenters with an agreement not to work for less than \$1.25 a day. *Terre Haute Express*, May 10, '48.

one at present as unnecessarily formal and dignified. It is as if a southern grandee were inviting his friends to a social function or apprising them of a birth or a wedding. It must have been a time curiously distant from ours, if not in years, at least in tone, when a man might hope to get more purchasers for his groceries by beginning them with a Latin quotation. Suppose he had candles made of lard which he wanted people to know were better than those made of tallow. He began in Latin: "Ex porko dare lucem," and continued, seriously enough, without a suspicion that he might be putting forth that which was hog-Latin on at least two counts.³⁶ Another, appealing to more dignified motives, begins with "Quod contemnitur, saepe utilissimum est," and proceeds to say that "Thos. H. Hearn takes pleasure in notifying his customers that he has just received a large and well-selected stock of confectionery, etc., candies—extracts—fish—toys." He also offers to furnish "bread and bait." His bakery is a place "where wedding cake may be obtained from that kind which suits the most luxurious to the humble sort with which 'love in a cottage' is content."³⁷ We read in another place:

"The undersigned, thankful for the liberal patronage which he has received, and anxious to merit and receive further favors, would say that he is still manufacturing wagons, carts, drays, and all kinds of heavy vehicles on short notice and of the very best materials the country can furnish . . . Having been raised to the business of blacksmithing and depending on it for a support, I am always willing to work for anything. I agree to take produce in pay, whether calicoes or ribbons or otherwise, and my work shall be equal to that of the biggest blower in the state."

Still another wants "any quantity of otter, deer, mink, wildcat, house cat, fox, coon, wolf, lynx, opossum, martin, and rabbit skins."

It would be a mistake to think that the inhabitants of Terre Haute in 1850 had to go without most of the luxuries of the present age. Here is what one of the merchants has just brought from Cincinnati:

"Domestic and imported candies, nuts in all their variety, mushroom, walnut, John Bull, and lemon sauces; sardines, lobsters, mackerel, cod, salmon, clams, pigeon, oysters, fresh and hermetically sealed; foreign and

³⁶ *Wabash Courier*, Nov. 29, '51.

³⁷ *Wabash Courier*, May 26, '49.

³⁸ *Terre Haute Express*, Dec. 30, '46.

domestic pickles of every kind; Ohio, Kentucky, Baltimore and Boston mustard; Western Reserve, Cream Durham and Pine Apple cheese; perfumery, a complete stock; and figs, raisins, citrons, Zante currants and dates—all fresh etc., etc.,”³⁹

A detailed statement of how many dozens or hundreds of each article a man had on hand was also a common advertisement—200 dozen thimbles, 20 dozen pocket knives, 50 dozen horn combs, 30 gross suspender buttons, 200 dozen bars of shaving soap, and so on, through a list of some thirty articles. One drug store, in its advertisement, claims to give the exact amount in stock of all different articles it has for sale.⁴⁰ This statement of the amount of an article in stock was especially common in the case of the various brands of cigars, or “segars,” as they usually called them at that time.

There were at least nine churches in Terre Haute in 1850, and thirteen in 1858, at the time of the first directory.⁴¹ They tried to raise money much as they do now. We read of permission given the ladies of the Baptist church to have a “strawberry feast” in the town hall. A little later another church obtained the hall for a “raspberry doings.”⁴² If in this respect the churches were like our own, they were different in their insistence on dogma. Sometimes a regular debate occurred, such as that between E. M. Knapp and Elder W. Begg in the Universalist church (corner Fourth and Ohio), which was to begin on Monday evening and, presumably, to continue through the week.⁴³ The great question was, “Do the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament Teach the Ultimate Happiness of All Mankind?” Revivals were common. In December, 1850, we read that “an excitement in the shape of religious inquiry has been going on for many nights at Universalist Jewett’s, Universalist Cheever’s and the Methodist Churches.”⁴⁴

The ministers were called upon to perform the function of public speakers and lecturers to a larger extent than now.

³⁹ *Wabash Courier*, Jan. 26, '50.

⁴⁰ *Terre Haute Express*, May 21, '48.

⁴¹ The memorandum of S. P. Crawford for 1843 says there were nine in that year.

⁴² Council records for May, '51, in Oakey, *Greater Terre Haute and Vigo County*, 117.

⁴³ *Wabash Courier*, Mar. 3, '49.

⁴⁴ *Wabash Courier*, May 20, '48.

Some like half of the lectures in the courses given in Terre Haute at the time were by the ministers of the city and nearby towns. When a minister left his charge to go elsewhere, he sometimes preached two farewell sermons, one to the citizens as a whole, and the other to his congregation. Ministers were also called upon to deliver commemorative addresses of one kind and another. For example, upon the request of the city council, Rev. M. A. Jewett delivered a eulogy on J. Q. Adams, which was said by the paper to have been "in his usual style—grand and imposing" and to have "enlisted the profoundest attention of the whole audience."⁴⁵

This Mr. Jewett, who served the Congregational church for twenty-six years, was the immediate predecessor of Lyman Abbott, who came to Terre Haute in 1860. Mr. Jewett was in the habit of handing in his resignation from time to time. This, as his successor explains, was his way of asking for a vote of confidence.⁴⁶ He did so in 1849, but the reason was not by all believed to be the one given by Mr. Abbott. The more worldly-minded editor of one of the papers, who may not have known much about parliamentary government, says "the reason was suspicioned to be not money enough".⁴⁷ However that may be, Mr. Jewett remained in Terre Haute for another eleven years. He filled a large place in the early church life of the city, among other things conducting a revival here in 1847 with Henry Ward Beecher, who came over from his Indianapolis pulpit to assist him.⁴⁸

The schools of Terre Haute in 1850 would be perhaps harder to recognize than anything else. It seems almost incredible that it was only in 1860 that schools supported by taxation came to Terre Haute to stay.⁴⁹ There had been such schools for one year, 1853-4, but the venture was obstructed by injunctions and the like. The city had bought the old seminary building, which stood on the site of the present State normal school, and had rented two houses besides. But the trustees evidently grew sick of their thankless job and gave it up after a year's trial.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ *Wabash Courier*, Dec. 21, '50.

⁴⁶ Lyman Abbott, "Reminiscences," *Outlook*, Sept. 23, 1914, 207.

⁴⁷ *Wabash Courier*, Nov. 12, '49.

⁴⁸ Lyman Abbott, "Reminiscences," *Outlook*, Sept. 23, 1914, 207.

⁴⁹ Bradsby, *History of Vigo County*, 528.

⁵⁰ Bradsby, *History of Vigo County*, 528.

In 1850 education was still on a par with selling soap and bacon. Anyone with the price of an advertisement in his pocket might set up to teach. Sometimes a committee of some sort undertook to establish a school and hired the teachers, or, at least, encouraged them, to embark on the undertaking themselves. The work was carried on much as that of music teachers and business colleges is now. It should be stated that the city provided school buildings which were rented to teachers before it hired the teachers themselves. The seminary building just mentioned is a case in point. This building was nearly completed on September 1, 1847, and in an advertisement of that date is offered for the use of teachers free of charge.⁵¹ Most of the teachers, to judge from the advertisements, seem to have held their classes in the basements of churches.

One of the most ambitious ventures of the kind was the Vigo Collegiate Institute, which was advertised to open on January 10, 1848.⁵² The tuition was \$16.00 a term (22 weeks) for elementary pupils. A female department was opened a few weeks alter, with a Professor Saule as a preceptor. This gentleman continued as a teacher in Terre Haute for a number of years, and his entry upon his new position was heralded in the advertisement as follows:

"The distinguished reputation which Professor Saule has acquired in this community as a gentleman of literary, scientific and classical attainments will secure for this appointment the cordial approval of an intelligent public."⁵³

One month later still, the complete faculty of the institute appears in the advertising columns as follows:

E. Thompson Baird, Esq., president and professor of classical literature, mental and moral philosophy and physical science. John B. L. Saule, professor of belles letters, English, literature, and general history. William L. Baird, professor of mathematics.

In another three weeks a tutor of German was added and in two months more a tutor in English and an instructor in music.

⁵¹ In the *Terre Haute Express*.

⁵² *Wabash Courier*, Jan. 8, '48.

⁵³ *Wabash Courier*, Jan. 29, '48.

The first catalogue, issued after six months, showed the following students:

Male College -----	33
Male Preparatory -----	20
Female College -----	24
Female Preparatory -----	12

89⁵⁴

One term after the opening of the institute they were all to put up a commencement with the usual string of orations and essays. The subjects of these were: Ambition as connected with Vice, Liberty, Genius, America, The Progress of the West.

There were in existence in Terre Haute about the same time a Vigo Female Seminary, a Wabash Female Seminary, a Terre Haute Select School, a select Female School, and a St. Vincent's Academy for young ladies. The last named gave instruction in the elementary branches, German, piano, drawing, oil painting, oriental painting and the making of artificial flowers. The tuition ranged from \$3.00 a quarter for the last named accomplishment to \$8.00 for piano and drawing.⁵⁵

There were a number of individual teachers, also, who offered instruction in various specialties. Whatever the value of their instruction, their ability to advertise their wares was considerable. One Mr. De Grand Val, who obtained the town hall in May, 1848, for instruction in dancing, offered to put the capsheaf on his benefactions in August by bringing a museum to Terre Haute⁵⁶ Another, who offered instruction in small sword exercises, conceived of his art broadly, offering "to teach juvenile class in this exercise, connected with oratorical and poetical actions, gestures and positions."⁵⁷ Still another offered a course in penmanship with a gold ring as a premium "for the most improvement."⁵⁸ A course in English grammar was also offered (\$3.00 for 30 lessons) in the same year by one who had previously advertised an improvement in teaching as follows:

⁵⁴ *Wabash Courner*, July 15, '48.

⁵⁵ *Wabash Courier*, Jan. 20, '49.

⁵⁶ *Terre Haute Express*, Aug. 23, '48.

⁵⁷ *Wabash Courner*, Mar. 10, '49.

⁵⁸ *Wabash Courier*, Mar. 9, '49.

"Mnemonical Seminary. Great Improvement in the Art of Teaching. The undersigned, having recently made several important improvements in his system of teaching English grammar, geography and natural philosophy, such as singing, which enables the pupil to commit to memory with great facility, reading and reciting in concert, by which stammering and incorrect pronunciation are prevented; and the science of mnemonics which strengthens the memory, so as to enable him to collect with ease the most important dates of history and the offices of the different parts of speech, would respectfully inform the ladies and gentlemen of this place and vicinity that he will commence a course of lectures on the above sciences on Monday next and continue them for three months. Terms, \$2.00 per month."⁵⁹

In May, 1850, Mrs. Leggett's school for girls was advertised to open in the basement of the Baptist church. This had expanded by August into Mr. and Mrs. Leggett's school for young ladies and gentlemen, as well as for misses and boys, which offered to teach geography, arithmetic and grammar for \$3.00 a quarter and history and natural science for \$4.00, and Latin, Greek or French for \$5.00 a quarter in addition. A Terre Haute Institute for Young Ladies was started in 1851, which offered to give them physical instruction and maternal care. St. Mary's of the Woods, now an important institution on the other side of the river, was already well established in 1850, and a long list of the prizes given by it in the different branches was regularly published in the newspapers.

Institutions on the outside also advertised a good deal, among others the Western Military Institute of Georgetown, Ky., and the Memphis Institute, which had a medical and a law department. It is noteworthy that both of these were in the south.

In December, 1851, James Hook, trustee of District number 5, advertised the opening of school for the benefit of that district in the basement of the Baptist church. The instruction was put in charge of a Mr. Tilly and a Miss Young, and "McGuffy's Works" were to be used.⁶⁰ This last item seemed like the beginning of a new order.

The old order had, to judge from the evidence, been dominated to a degree by the idea of accomplishments, especially feminine accomplishments. It was, in other words, truly

⁵⁹ *Terre Haute Express*, Sept. 1, '47.

⁶⁰ *Wabash Courier*, Dec. 27, '51.

southern. In spite of current opinion to the contrary, one is inclined to think that in 1850 the women bulked larger in Terre Haute than they do now—there had been a lecture on "Woman's Rights," by a Miss Hunt, as early as 1847—and it is no wonder that we find comments in the papers like the following: "Why is a lady like a locomotive?"⁶¹ The answer is: Because she emits sparks, draws a train, transports the males (mails) and says to the tender :Pine (k)not."⁶²

The conundrum business had quite a run at the time. There is an advertisement in the *Wabash Courier* for February 12, 1848, offering "a splendid gold pencil" to the author of the best original conundrum. The offer was made by the agent for the Lable Harmonicas, who was giving entertainments at the Stewart House (Second and Main). All the conundrums were to be read at the evening performance. Of the entertainment, the paper says, a week later:

"Our people have had their laugh, spent their money and learned to make conundrums. Nearly everything is turned into a conundrum, and like many other things in this world, we suppose conundrums will have their day."

The paper was not mistaken. They did have their day. The following, among others, bears internal evidence of the date of its origin: "Why is a lawyer like a sawyer? Because whichever way he goes, down must come the dust." Sometimes one of these questions excited an interest which was nation-wide. In 1849 a request ran through the papers asking for an explanation of the passage of Genesis (19,11), where it says that "Jacob kissed Rachel, and lifted up his voice and wept." The information sought was why he should have done such an unreasonable thing on such an occasion. The *Wabash Courier* of June 9, 1849, published thirteen reasons which had been given by as many newspapers over the country, each answer being based on the preceding and showing why it must be wrong and its own answer right.

The temperance movement seems to have been strong in Terre Haute about that time also. There were local branches of both the "Sons of Temperance" and the "Cadets of Temperance," each of which had a hall for its meetings. They

⁶¹ *Terre Haute Express*, Feb. 17, '47.

⁶² *Wabash Courier*, April 15, '48.

received considerable attention as organizations, especially the latter. We read of their being especially invited to Sunday school anniversaries,⁶³ of having Professor Saule read his temperance poem to them, and of voting their thanks for a dinner given them at the Eagle hotel (Third and Mulberry).⁶⁴ It is even on record that Harrison township (in which Terre Haute is located) voted against licenses in 1848.⁶⁵ In 1843, we are informed by a contemporary, in a document deposited in the corner stone of the old town hall, the saloons, or "coffee-houses," as he calls them, had been reduced to three, "which were scarcely able to pay expenses." A "Washington" temperance society, which had been started the year before, had 500 members in a few days. "Liquor, as a beverage," he says, "is almost unknown."⁶⁶

Among the organizations of Terre Haute in 1850 should be mentioned one called the "Atalantian Litterate." They had well-furnished club-rooms and a library, and maintained a course of lectures during the winter.⁶⁷ The course beginning January, 1849, was to contain "six to ten lectures on literary, philosophical and historical subjects," to be given in the society's hall at 7:30 o'clock, and was to cost \$1.00 for a gentleman or a family.⁶⁸ Whether single females were admitted free or excluded, is not stated. But, no doubt, they went in with the family, for a boarder always counted as one of the family where he stayed.

The subjects of these lectures and of others given about that time, are of some interest as showing what people wanted or were willing to hear in those days. Among them are "California," "The Mission of America," "Pythagoras," "The History of Epidemics," "The Siege of Troy," "The Age of Chivalry," "The Statesman," "Rome," "The Vision of Daniel," "The Bright and Morning Star," "The Early History of the Wabash Valley," "Poetry: Its Nature and Influence," "Hungary and Kossuth," "The Influence of Discoveries in Physical Science on Civilization." Other societies also maintained

⁶³ *Wabash Courier*, May 18, '50.

⁶⁴ *Wabash Courier*, Mar. 3, '49.

⁶⁵ *Terre Haute Express*, June 7, '48.

⁶⁶ Memorandum of S. P. Crawford, from Bradsby, *History of Vigo County*, 434.

⁶⁷ *Terre Haute Express*, Nov. 1, '47.

⁶⁸ *Wabash Courier*, Jan. 20, '49.

courses, as for example, the "Mechanic's Historical Society." Many of the lectures were by local men, ministers, teachers, doctors, and others.

Other entertainments, somewhat less academic, were also frequent. In 1849 a Mr. Jackson gave a series of entertainments at the courthouse consisting of invitations of prominent actors and orators, both political and ecclesiastic. They were reported to be considered "first class" by those who knew the originals, and to have given "great satisfaction to persons who appreciate that class of entertainment."⁶⁹

There was also an exhibition of an oxyhydrogen microscope in the town hall, and a vocal concert by the Higgins family for two nights. These performers were said to have "conducted themselves with great modesty." "It would be good," says the reporter, "to have a conscience as clear as Mrs. Higgins' voice."⁷⁰ Then there was a panoramic exhibition of the Hudson river and scenes from Virginia—with 9,400 yards of canvas, which was said to have been "pronounced by artists and critics to be the best work of art ever presented to the public."⁷¹ It was the time when people were interested in phrenology, also, and a certain Anton gave lectures "for a small fee" in Terre Haute on the subject. He also gave charts and examined heads at Browns hotel (on the square), presumably for a larger fee. Of four entertainments about the same time, the lectures on phrenology, a lecture on phonetics, the exhibition of paintings and a company of minstrels, the lectures on phrenology were pronounced the most interesting.⁷²

There were a number of concerts, and finally a "Grand Concert," to be given by one Okah Tubbee, an Indian, who was heralded as "the greatest natural musician in the known world." He put up at the Prairie House and was charged 25 cents, and, as the paper puts it, "goes it strong on natural principles and plays exquisitely on several instruments." Nor was this all. He had, in addition, real Indian medicine for sale, which would cure some two dozen of the major ailments of mankind, from bronchitis to cancer and from white swell-

⁶⁹ *Wabash Courier*, Mar. 17, '49.

⁷⁰ *Wabash Courier*, Nov. 24, '49.

⁷¹ *Wabash Courier*, Mar. 8, '51.

⁷² *Wabash Courier*, May 10, '51.

ing and toothache to fits.⁷³ Though he threatened to stay but a few days, his advertisement appeared in the *Wabash Courier* for several months.

The desire of the people to be humbugged was further satisfied by the circus, the barbecue, the camp-meeting, and last but not least, by patent medicines. There were two or three circuses in Terre Haute each year, and, to judge from their names alone, they must have surpassed each other and everything else. One of them, for example, was Mabel's Grand Olympic Arena and United States Circus. As for political meetings, one was held at Fort Harrison, a short distance north of town in 1848, during the Taylor campaign, at which a crowd was present estimated at from 15,000 to 30,000 people. They were all fed on the grounds, and it took three speakers, addressing them simultaneously, to give them all a chance to hear.⁷⁴ General Taylor himself, who had been in command during the "battle" of Fort Harrison in 1812, had been invited to come, but had sent his regrets.⁷⁵

The Fourth of July celebrations usually consisted of processions of the Sunday school children, beginning in some cases as early as seven in the morning, a meeting at which there were songs, the reading of the Declaration of Independence, an oration and prayer, and then a dinner spread in the basements of the churches or in the courthouse yard. There was often a second meeting with speeches later in the day, and even a third, on one occasion at least, in the greenwood north of town, with still another collation. Verily, eating and listening to speeches was the order of the day. The event was usually planned by a meeting of the young men at the town hall several weeks beforehand.⁷⁶

Yet the stimulus furnished by these occasions was, after all, but temporary. They still left some 350 days of the year unprovided for. And with the incredible success of the Laws of Temperance and their like in making Terre Haute a place where "liquor as a beverage is almost unknown" it might have gone hard with the population if they had not had a substitute. But they had, and they had it in amazing abund-

⁷³ *Wabash Courier*, May 17, '51.

⁷⁴ *Terre Haute Express*, Sept. 6, '48.

⁷⁵ *Wabash Courier*, Aug. 19, '48.

⁷⁶ *Wabash Courier*, Aug. 19, '48.

ance and variety. The only big advertisers of 1850 were the makers of patent medicine. They were the only ones, apparently, who could afford a whole column of space, year in and year out. Their name was liquor, they could cure anything, and they spoke with authority.⁷⁷ Other quacks appeared in person and offered to "cure all diseases left uncured by the modern and more fashionable practice" and to guarantee satisfaction for \$10.00.⁷⁸

One gets the feeling in reading the papers of the period that the regular practitioner existed largely by sufferance. He did not have the good sense to collect his pay while the patient was still exhilarated, as the patent medicine man did, and so, frequently, he got none. The papers are full of requests for the payment of doctor's bills. One of them even seems to have thought that he could escape the general fate by foreign travel, at least this is what he put in the paper:

"Fair Warning. Having determined to travel during the next two or three years, those indebted will find it to their advantage to call on me within ten days and pay, or make such arrangements as reason may dictate. All seven or eight year old demands *must* be attended to without delay."

Yet, in spite of these drawbacks, many of the doctors were men of good education and high character. A fine specimen of this class was Dr. Ezra Read, who is said to have been a classical scholar, who carried the *Iliad* about in his pocket, and a generally well-read man, to whom both French and English authors were familiar. It was he who had been recommended as the city's best physician to the English gentleman already referred to, who fell ill at the Prairie House in 1851 and who speaks of him as a bright and intelligent companion and devoted to his profession and his patients. It was, to be sure, rather hard for an English gentleman to become accustomed to the doctor's keeping his hat on when he entered the patient's room and to several other peculiarities which he shared with the professional men of the frontier. Of one of these we shall let him give his own account:

⁷⁷ *Terre Haute Express*, June 16 and July 7, '47, June 28, '48.

⁷⁸ See, for instance, the statement of the Graefenburg Company in the *Wabash Courier*, Jan. 15, '48, which is only a sample of many.

"Poor Dr. Read! he was a thorough American, and proud of being so. Lying in bed with the door of my room open, owing to the heat of the weather, I used to hear his well-known step and the sounds which denoted that he was clearing his throat and spitting on the stairs before he entered my room. He had found out that we did not like the process to be carried on before us; and after this preparation he was not often obliged to have recourse to it in our presence."⁷⁹

Assuming the attitude of the critical investigator, we are obliged to say that this account is not entirely free from flaws. For what tobacco-chewer ever had to clear his throat in order to spit on the stairs?

Of the hotels of Terre Haute, at least to judge from an old illustration, one is still standing in the same condition as in 1850. This is the one on the east side of South Third street, between Walnut and Ohio, then known as the City hotel and later as Buntin's. In the 50s it was perhaps the most important hotel in town, being the starting point of the stage coaches.⁸⁰ The Prairie House at Seventh and Main was, to judge from an illustration, a four-story building with a flat, straight front. In 1850, as we have seen, it stood at a distance from the town. Its location so far away, was no doubt due to the fact that Chauncey Rose, who had, in 1837, bought the half section of land between Seventh and Thirteenth, wanted to draw the town in that direction.⁸¹ What sort of accommodations might be obtained here in 1851 is vividly described in Mr. Beste's book:

"Mr. Bunting, our fat landlord, dressed in the height of fashion, and with carving knife and fork in hand, politely guided us to our places, and then took his own stand at the side-table, which groaned under a profusion of apparently well-cooked joints. Our respectable-looking negro waiter was in the room; and ten or a dozen lads (white) of ages varying from 12 to 15 years, and dressed in white jackets, but without shoes or stockings, ran about the room, and tumbled over one another in their eagerness, looking more like school-boys playing at leap-frog than like waiters at a worshipful dinner table. Immediately one of the smallest of the boys sprang to me and exclaimed in my ear, as fast as he could articulate the words: What will you take? Roast mutton, boiled beef, roast lamb, veal

⁷⁹ Beste, *The Wabash*, II, 123.

⁸⁰ Of Clark's Hotel (First and Ohio) the lower story is still standing, and now is used as a blacksmith shop.

⁸¹ He had built the hotel soon after the purchase. After a years trial, however, it was obliged to stand vacant for eight years, and was not opened again till 1849. Condit, *History of Early Terre Haute*, 75. An account of its re-opening is found in the *Wabash Courier*, May 12, '49.

pie, chicken pie, roast fowls or pigeons? I made my selection out of the few of the words of his gabble that I could then understand and he fetched me something as different as possible from that which I had asked for."⁸²

"There was a chambermaid, who, without assistance, made all the beds in the house, and did all the work of a chambermaid; she was a Dutch-woman and went about the house without shoes or stockings. One woman was kept to make all the pastry, pancakes, etc., and another to wash the dishes and cups and saucers. One constant laundress was kept; and on washing days two others were hired to help her. All these, except Mrs. Bunting's own maid, were barefooted. Then here was Anthony, the black cook, the black steward who had charge of the six waiter boys, an Irishman whose only work seemed to be sleeping in the bar and taking charge of the ice, and answering with rudeness when spoken to, and another Irishman, who had to bring wood into the kitchen."⁸³

"Every other day when they took the inventory of the hotel plate, a dirty waiterboy rapped at my door and popped his head in, exclaiming: 'Got any spoons?' and if the amount was not easily found below he would venture again and again with the same demand, insisting that we must have two or one, or whatever was the number missing. I never succeeded in catching this little blackguard by the ear, though I often tried to do so and a regular war on the subject of these spoons was established between us."⁸⁴

What did the people of Terre Haute think and talk about, and how did they behave and amuse themselves in 1850? This has been partly answered already, for they think and talk largely about what they see and hear from day to day, and what comes in the way of their business. The highest culture of the people, if we may call it so, was essentially southern. Nearly all of Terre Haute's early commercial dealings and a large number of her people had come from there. In a general way this crops out at many points. For instance, we read a little piece in the paper about the etiquette of the umbrella:

"If you meet a lady in the rain without an umbrella, you should not give her yours, but escort her home. If you meet two, give them your umbrella, but let them go alone. This holds whether you know them or not."

"Christmas Day," we read in another place, "passed off very agreeable. The weather was fine, enabling all to go out who felt inclined. Some went to church and some took eggnog.

⁸² Beste, *The Wabash*, II, 3.

⁸³ Beste, *The Wabash*, II, 74.

⁸⁴ Beste, *The Wabash*, II, 67.

Altogether, we believe it was a merry Christmas".⁸⁵ Most characteristic are the ever-recurring editorials on spring.

"Spring is coming, spring with her lap full of flowers and her lips ruddy with the enjoyment of maple molasses; spring with warbling birds, frisking lambs and bawling calves; spring with her swelling buds and verdant fields; spring which arouses the husbandman from his winter's lethargy; spring which weakens the joints of the loafer; spring with the house-cleaning, scouring and brushing. This veritable spring is coming, yea, is now here."⁸⁶

Sometimes the editor's exuberance carried him so far that he had to be called down by his rival on the other paper, as in the following editorial, entitled "Sleighting:"

"Mr. Ruggles of the Pavillion Stables had some fine teams. He drives them six-in-hand with great skill. For several days during the snow Mr. Ruggles' big sleigh and six were seen flying through our streets loaded with ladies and gentlemen. On Saturday last we were politely invited to a seat with a dozen of the real some, and had a delightful time riding two miles out the National road and back. It was capital, and the ease with which the six were turned, just at the driver's will, was admirable."⁸⁷

We do not know just what his rival said to this, but he must have said something, for one week later the writer of the editorial on "Sleighting" had to take part of it back, while at the same time countering handsomely at his apparent rival:

"Well, we acknowledge the six-horse sleigh, but the editor of the *Journal* was in first. We took him for Martin Van Buren with his whiskers shaved off, just starting on a Free Soil expedition. But the gravity of Martin was soon lost in the frolic. The fact is we never saw a day so brim full of sleigh-poetry. From the rocks of the Canal to Congress Corner it was all one blaze of glory."

Such was editorial amenity in 1850. Or was it all only a brave way of getting over a loss of dignity brought upon them both alike by the redoubtable Mr. Ruggles?

In more ways than one, 1850 was the end of one period and the beginning of another. The time when gentlemen wore stocks and dickeys and strapped their pantaloons under their boots, when "girls on skates would have been a phenomenon," when all men chewed fine-cut and the spittoon stood in the family pew, and where red-nosed deacons were not un-

⁸⁵ *Wabash Courier*, April 21, '49.

⁸⁶ *Wabash Courier*, February 23, '50.

⁸⁷ *Wabash Courier*, December 28, '50.

common, was about to pass away. Quite naturally, in such a time of breaking-up, some extremes of behavior were indulged in. Quite a stir was made at the time, among other things, by a certain Miss Webber's advocacy of male attire for women. Female dress, she said, had been invented by man as part of his tyranny. She advocated that trousers should be worn by women till marriage and by widows till married again.⁸⁸ This was evidently an extreme form of the bloomer agitation, which filled the papers of the time. Mr. Beste, surely our most incorruptible witness, says that he actually saw two women wearing bloomers on the streets of New York, but nowhere else. But with the help of his friend and physician, Dr. Read, he is able to give us the following authentic account of the ravages of the epidemic in Terre Haute.

"Now it seems that the ladies of Terre Haute were as anxious as any editor among them to see themselves in the new costume and to decide whether it was as becoming as it was represented to be. About a score of them agreed to have dresses made according to the new pattern; and these were privately sent to Mrs. Read's house, that they might dress themselves there, and together judge of one another's charms. The arrangements were made with much mystery. Mrs. Read was to give a party, but the initiated ladies alone were to be invited. On no account was a pair of male trousers to be admitted.

"The ladies met. Twenty pair of feet cased in the smallest possible shoes, attached to twenty ankles decked in the finest possible silk stocking, peeped from under twenty pair of the largest possible Turkish trousers; twenty parti-colored polkas, waistcoats and jackets, got in twenty as small waists and as swelling busts as Terre Haute could furnish. They were all in high glee, and pirouetted and turned one another about admiringly, half regretting that they had so rigorously excluded anyone of the male sex. The door opened and Dr. Read walked in. Twenty screams uprose from twenty blushing throats.

"'Ladies', said the doctor sententiously, 'It is impossible that you should be judges in your own cause. Surely gentlemen should be admitted to say how the new dress affects them? The screams and pirouettes redoubled. The forty shoes, the forty stockings, the twenty Turkish trousers, ran and skipped about the room—some hiding themselves behind window curtains, some crouching behind sofas—till Mrs. Read kindly pointed the way into her own room. They all betook themselves there and double-locked the door, while the doctor came over to the hotel and told us what sport he had had.'⁸⁹

⁸⁸ *Wabash Courier*, Sept. 7, '50.

⁸⁹ Beste, *The Wabash*, II, 144ff.

In spite of such temporary aberrations, however, life in Terre Haute must on the whole have been eminently proper. In the winter of 1850-51 it was thought worth recording that a new species of entertainment was coming in, that of "happening in," which was beginning to supersede the old-fashioned parties.⁹⁰ Such parties as we read of were extreme in their innocence. One occurred, for instance, at Judge S. B. Gookins' place on Strawberry Hill.⁹¹ This was far outside of town at the time, so that when the judge moved there he had been obliged to resign his seat in the city council. The party was for the Sunday school children of Mr. Jewett's church, together with a number of "more adult folk." There were strawberries, ice cream and cake, a promenade on the lawn, and music. The naughtiness came a little later, and, as the paper hints, surreptitiously. "Perhaps," we read, "in the absence of Mrs. Gookins, and after the stars arose, there may have been a little of the 'light fantastic toe' on the grass. But all was retired and quiet by early bed-time."

Of Mrs. Read and her family we have the following picture by the somewhat prejudiced daughters of the English gentleman whom we have already referred to.

"Mrs. Read was a very good sample of an American lady. She was very languishing, indolent and affected in her way of speaking. She spent most of the day in her white dressing gown and slippers. She spoilt her children dreadfully, and was often ashamed that we should see how little they obeyed her. She was, however, well educated, and played the piano very well, and she was a really kind-hearted, good-natured person, who meant to do everything for the best when she could make up her mind to leave the sofa or the rocking chair, where she spent most of her time. Her daughter was a clever girl. She, too, played and sang very well for her age, and she danced nicely. In the more solid parts of her education her mother used to complain that she was sadly wanting."⁹²

This picture is considerably relieved by the fact that another one of the English girls tell us that Mrs. Read had to wash and mend all the clothes of the five children of her husband and of his brother, who was visiting them.

"These two, she said, insisted on having a clean shirt every day. Her help never assisted her in anything except in ironing and in taking the entire charge of the kitchen."⁹³

⁹⁰ *Wabash Courier*, Feb. 1, '51.

⁹¹ *Wabash Courier*, May 31, '51.

⁹² Beste, *The Wabash*, II, 97.

⁹³ Beste, *The Wabash*, II, 98.

Gum-chewing among the girls was already very common in 1850, and this naturally struck the English girls quite as much as the habit of the men to sit with their chairs tilted back and their feet on the window sill or the table. "All the young ladies at Terre Haute," one of them writes, "and, I suppose, all over America, chew Burgundy pitch, as the gentlemen chew tobacco."⁹⁴

Crime was not common in 1850, to judge from what got into the local papers. We read of several murders, but always out in the country or in adjoining counties. The worst that the papers offered in town is suspected incendiarism and, once, in 1849, the *Wabash Courier* has this editorial:

"We hear of some alarm about town on account of recent attempts to break into dwellings after dark. It is very possible that some fooling is going on, which will lead to the death or disgrace of some one. Fire-arms are prepared, and it may be well not to carry this matter of house-breaking too far, just at this particular time."⁹⁵

The "matter" was really more serious than that, as appears from the fact that the council offered a reward of \$50 for the arrest and conviction of every offender.⁹⁶

As we have said, the old times were beginning to pass away. In 1851, two of the Terre Haute papers, the *Wabash Courier* and the *Express*, started daily editions.⁹⁷ It was inevitable that the latter should soon consume most of the editor's time, and the carefully selected clippings with all sorts of odds and ends of information, which had filled the front page of the weekly edition, must soon have largely disappeared. With them, no doubt, went the custom which the *Courier*, at least, practiced consistently, and the *Express* at intervals, of publishing from two to four poems in the first column of each issue. Instead of an institution and a friend, the paper became a convenience, and, while subscriptions were then no doubt more promptly paid, it no longer had a flavor about it which reminded you that there was a common standard of behavior which did not need to be enforced.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ Beste, *The Wabash*, II, 92.

⁹⁵ Aug. 25.

⁹⁶ Council records in Oakey, *Greater Terre Haute and Vigo County*, 116.

⁹⁷ *Wabash Courier*, Dec. 6, '51; Condit, *History of Early Terre Haute*, 136.

⁹⁸ In the *Wabash Courier* for Jan. 8, '48 the terms of subscription are given as \$2.00 a year if paid within three months of the receipt of the first number, \$2.50 if paid within the year, and \$3.00 if payment is delayed until the year expired.

Nor was it possible, in all probability, for the editor to write and publish novels in his spare moments, as the editor of the *Courier* is reported to have done, while he was in Terre Haute.⁹⁹

The temper of the old regime is still seen undiluted in the following editorial on the "telegraph," which had just reached Terre Haute.¹⁰⁰

"The telegraph wires, as they pass through the glass of each pole discourse very pretty music. We do not know that this music is resolvable into notes, but it is nevertheless very sweet. On the Wabash bridge particularly are these sounds remarkable. On a clear night the wires stretching across give music closely resembling the Aeolian harp. What a splendid place for young lovers under these wires, any time before midnight, with or without a bright moon."¹⁰¹

That which most inevitably changed things in Terre Haute was first, the opening of the Wabash and Erie canal, to the north in 1849, and to Evansville in 1852, and even more, the telegraph in 1850, and the opening of the railroads, east, north, south and west, which followed in quick succession from 1852 on.¹⁰²

The first of these, the opening of the canal to the north, was naturally a time of some rejoicing. The *Wabash Courier* of September 8, 1849, says that the water has been let into it and has come to within a mile and a half of the city. In the issue of October 27 we read that boats are now operating, two having started to load with corn at Otter creek, a few miles north. One of the two first boats to reach town gave a crowd of people an excursion a mile and a half up the canal and back, accompanied by a "band and music" from town. When they returned we are told that they were greeted by the "roaring of cannon." At three o'clock a fine dinner was given at the Prairie House, to which the proprietors of the boat and the other excursionists were invited. There were

⁹⁹ The editor's name was Jesse Conard, and the novels were *Stephen Move-land* and *Mount Echo*, Condit, *History of Early Terre Haute*, 135.

¹⁰⁰ *Wabash Courier*, Dec. 21, '50.

¹⁰¹ The items of most constant interest in the papers of the time were the newly discovered gold in California, together with ways and means of getting there, the cholera epidemic, the trial of Professor Webster in Boston for the murder of Dr. Parkman, and the concert tour of Jenny Lind under the management of P. T. Barnum.

¹⁰² The first station in Terre Haute was at Tenth and Main, where the Vandalia freight office is now.

addresses and toasts, and the boats both returned north on the same day.

There were several breaks in the canal soon after that, one of which delayed traffic for some time. Low water also interfered with the movements of the boats, so that altogether it was not strange that the railroads, with their greater speed and certainty and their direct time to the eastern markets, soon made the canal unprofitable. Nevertheless, for a leisurely trip, there might have been something to say for the canal boat. The arrival of the packet "Ohio," Captain Davis, in May, 1850, was the occasion for the following in the *Courier*:

"The Ohio is a fine boat and has one of nature's noblemen for commander. Everything appears to be in fine order on board, and the significant proportions of the captain strongly indicate the good cheer of the pantry. A number of gentlemen had more satisfactory evidence on this subject yesterday in the shape of an elegant dinner, to which they were invited, in the cabin. At four o'clock the Ohio took the party a few miles up the canal."¹⁰³

A description of one of the canal boats is given by Mr. Beste on the occasion of his departure from Terre Haute in August, 1851:

"The construction of the canal boat was—in miniature—much the same as that of the lake and river steamers. There was no hold or under-deck, but on the deck, at the stern, were raised the kitchen, steward's room and offices. In the center of the boat was the large saloon—the sitting room of all by day the sleeping-room of the male passengers by night. Adjoining it was the ladies' saloon, beyond which again, was a small cabin containing only four berths. This cabin was separated by a curtain from the ladies saloon, and on the other side opened upon the bow of the vessel. In it was a looking glass, a hand basin, two towels, a comb and a brush, for the use of the ladies."

The starting of the boat is thus described:

"At five o'clock in the afternoon, we stepped from the little quay at Terre Haute on board the boat. Three horses were harnessed to a rope, about fifty yards ahead of the boat. They started at a moderate trot, and the town where we had tarried so long was soon lost to sight."¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ May 25.

¹⁰⁴ Aug. 12, '51.

According to the map in the directory of 1858, the course of the canal through the city was as follows: It entered from the north close to the river bank, at the eastern end of the present Big Four bridge. From here it went straight south along the river bank, where part of its course can still be followed, to the basin on Water street, just south of Eagle street. In its course it passed through the west end of an old cemetery, just south of the Vandalia bridge, where a few badly broken tombstones may still be seen. From the north end of the basin just mentioned it then went northeast to a point near the corner of Third and Chestnut, then straight north, on the west side of Third street, to Canal street, thence straight east, where the Vandalia tracks are at present. In front of where the union station is now it curved around and went south between Ninth and Tenth streets to Livan street, then southeast out of the city, toward Riley (then called Lockport). The basin and docks at Terre Haute were said to be the finest on the whole canal, having steps leading down to the landing, and a railing.¹⁰⁵ Of all this only a few posts and beams in the ground may now be seen near the river bank.

¹⁰⁵ *Wabash Courier*, May 10, '51.

Indiana In 1816

By MERRILL MOORES, Member of Congress from the Seventh
District of Indiana

TODAY we are here in response to the call of the greatest of
our poets, uttered years ago, but urgent today:

"Le's go a-visitin' back to Grigsby's Station—
Back where the latch-string's a-hangin' from the door,
And ever' neighbor round the place is dear as a relation—
Back where we ust to be so happy and so pore.

Le's go a-visitin' back to Grigsby's Station—
Back where there's nothin' aggrervatin' any more.
Shet away safe in the woods around the old location—
Back where we ust to be so happy and so pore

What's in all this grand life and high situation,
And nary pink nor holly-hock a-bloomin' at the door?
Le's go a-visitin' back to Grigsby's Station—
Back where we ust to be so happy and so pore."

Today the people of Indiana go a-visitin' back to Grigsby's
Station and the sovereign State sings with another, but not a
greater, poet:

"Dost thou look back on what hath been,
As some divinely gifted man,
Whose life in low estate began
And on a simple village green:

Who breaks his birth's invidious bar,
And grasps the skirts of happy chance,
And breasts the blows of circumstance,
And grapples with his evil star:

Who makes by force his merit known,
And lives to clutch the golden keys,
To mould a mighty state's decrees,
And shape the whisper of the throne:

And moving up from high to higher,
Becomes on Fortune's crowning slope
The pillar of a people's hope,
The center of a world's desire."

*An address delivered at the Corydon pageant, June 2.

In becoming modesty, forgetful of what our State accomplished in a brief century of life, laying aside all thought of what Indiana is today in the great sisterhood of States, let us reverently approach the cradle of her babyhood, that we may do fitting honor to the pioneers, to whose labors and the sufferings our three million citizens are indebted for what Indiana is today.

Civilized Indiana was not conquered from the wilderness without bloodshed, in addition to toil and privation. The first European settlement within its borders was effected by men of Norman blood at Vincennes early in the eighteenth century and about two centuries ago. Eighty years before the constitutional convention met at Corydon, on Palm Sunday, 1736, as we are told, the commandant at Vincennes (a nephew of Louis Joliet, who, with Father Marquette, explored the Mississippi in 1673) was, in company with his general, D'Artaguet, and his faithful chaplain, Father Senat, missionary priest at Vincennes, burned at the stake by hostile Chickasaws, who had raided the post.

The story of Pontiac's conspiracy and war tells of fierce fighting in and across the Indiana territory as long ago as 1763. A party of Indians, under an English captain named Henry Bird, guided by the renegade, Simon Girty, in 1780, crossed Indiana, and raided the Kentucky settlements along the Licking, killing and scalping every white hunter and trapper encountered. One need only recall the massacres from Lochry's Creek in 1780 and Vincennes in 1785 to those at Pigeon Roost and around Vallonia in 1812; Clark's expedition in 1786 and Wilkinson's later, the successive defeats of Josiah Harmer and Arthur St. Clair, followed by Wayne's victory in 1794, and the final conquest of the hostile Indians in the battles of Tippecanoe and Fort Wayne to realize the risk of fortune and liberty and life taken by the pioneers of Indiana.

In 1800 the census gave Indiana 5,506 people. In 1810 the population had grown to 24,000, divided between four counties, Harrison, 3,595; Knox, 7,945; Clark, 5,670, and Dearborn, 7,310.

In December, 1815, by a territorial census, the territory had grown so rapidly, since the cessation of hostilities with

the Indians, that the population was only a hundred short of 68,000; and of the thirteen counties, Harrison was fifth with 6,975.

That the new State was growing with tremendous rapidity is shown by the fact that in the next four years the population more than doubled; it increased 116 per cent and became 146,988.

The life of the Indiana pioneer cannot be better told than it has been in the verse of the greatest of our poets, from whom I quote again:

“And musing thus today, the pioneer
Whose brawny arm hath grubbed a pathway here,
Stands raptly with his vision backward turned
To where the log-heap of the past was burned,
And sees again as in some shadowy dream,
Or sniffing, with his antlers lifted high,
The wild deer bending o’er the hidden stream,
The gawky crane, as he comes trailing by
And drops in shallow tides below to wade
On tilting legs, thro’ dusky depths of shade,
While, just across, the glossy otter slips
Like some wet shadow ’neath the ripples’ tips
As drifting from the thicket-hid bayou,
The wild duck paddles past his rendezvous.”

In picturing the log cabin home of early times, the poet said:

“And o’er the vision, like a mirage, falls
The old log cabin with its dingy walls,
And crippled chimney with the crutch-like prop
Beneath a sagging shoulder at the top;
The coon skin battened fast on either side;
The wisps of leaf tobacco—cut and dried;
The yellow strands of quartered apples hung
In rich festoons that tangle in among
The morning-glory vines that clamber o’er
The little clapboard roof above the door;
The old well sweep that drops a courtesy
To every thirsty soul so graciously;
The stranger, as he drains the dripping gourd,
Intuitively murmurs, “Thank the Lord.”

The interior of the cabin was pictured with:

Bough-filled fireplace and the mantel wide,
Its fire-scorched ankles stretched on either side,
Where, perched upon its shoulders, 'neath the joist
The old clock hiccoughed, harsh and husky-voiced;
Tomatoes, red and yellow, in a row
Reserved not then for diet, but for show,
Like rare and precious jewels in the rough,
Whose worth was not appraised at half enough.
The jars of jelly, with their dusty tops;
The bunch of pennyroyal, the cordial drops;
The flask of camphor and the vial of squills;
The box of buttons, garden seeds and pills,
And ending all the mantel's bric-a-brac,
The old, time-honored family almanac."

We are fortunate today to have before our eyes the massive building in which met the men who laid the strong foundations of our statehood, the Capitol Hotel, where many of them boarded during the brief session of the convention, the elm tree to whose grateful shade they adjourned their session on the hottest days, the houses where lived Governor Posey and other territorial officers, and others where some of the members are still remembered to have boarded. Many of the great men of 1816 are passing from our memory, but the solid masonry erected by the sturdiest of them all, Dennis Pennington, still stands, let us hope, as a perpetual monument to them and their work.

When the convention met the governor's mansion was occupied by a gallant soldier of the American revolution, Colonel Thomas Posey, with whose handsome features we are all familiar from the well-known portrait which adorns the State library at Indianapolis. Governor Posey was a Virginian who had fought in the battle of Point Pleasant, in Lord Dunmore's war in 1774. As a captain of Virginia continentals, he had assisted in the defeat of his old commander, the same Lord Dunmore, at Gwynn's Island in 1776. His company was transferred to Morgan's renowned rifle corps, and he served with distinction and great gallantry at Pis cataquay, Bemis Heights, Stillwater, Stony Point and at Yorktown. He had served in Indian campaigns under Anthony Wayne, in Georgia, and, in the Northwest Territory,

had been lieutenant-governor of Kentucky and United States senator from Louisiana, and was governor of Indiana Territory from 1812 to 1816, succeeding in that office three other eminent soldiers, Arthur St. Clair (of the Northwest Territory), William Henry Harrison and John Gibson.

The secretary of the territory was, and for sixteen years had been, John Gibson, a man of rare force, character and judgment. A college-bred man, he was taken prisoner in an expedition against the Indians before Lord Dunmore's war and was saved from the stake in the same manner that Pocahontas saved the gallant Virginia captain. He later married a sister of Logan, the celebrated Indian chief and orator; and it was our John Gibson who heard and reported the famous speech of Logan, which every school boy will remember, made after his entire family had been massacred by drunken whites: "There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one." Gibson had been with Lord Dunmore and Colonel Posey at Point Pleasant in 1774 and, like Posey, had commanded a regiment during the revolution.

Thomas Randolph had been attorney general, but was killed in action in the battle of Tippecanoe and the office had not been filled. He was a Virginian, a descendant of Pocahontas, a gentleman of education, cultivation and refinement. His wife was a daughter of General Arthur St. Clair.

Davis Floyd was auditor of public accounts, a Virginian who had served in the Revolution, and had been imprisoned for a brief period for association with Aaron Burr, for whom he had procured in 1805 a territorial charter for a water power company at the falls of the Ohio. Henry Vanderburgh, one of the justices of the Supreme Court, had served as a soldier in the Revolution, as had the fathers of John De Pauw, Robert A. New, William and Charles Polke, Joseph Holman, John Dumont, Benjamin Chambers, the Beggs brothers, Samuel Merrill, and many others active in the organization of the new State.

The convention met here in Corydon, June 10, 1816, consisting of forty-three members chosen from the thirteen organized counties. The members were magnificently repre-

sentative of the Indiana pioneers. Nearly all of them seem to us astonishingly young; but it requires youth to supply the strength, vigor and ambition needed to conquer a wilderness. Among them were many destined to future greatness, Jonathan Jennings, William Hendricks, Benjamin Parke, William Polke, James Noble, Robert Hanna and D. H. Maxwell. And no less eminent was to be the modest squire, John Tipton, who was to be chosen the first sheriff of Harrison county under the new constitution and to be a great leader in the Senate of the United States from middle life clear down to its end.

Members of the convention, like the pioneers they represented, came from all the original colonies north and south, as well as from England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland, and from French, Flemish, German and Indian ancestors. Many were college-bred, but most of them could write only their names. They had inherited widely diverse traditions and beliefs as to political and religious matters, but they stood unitedly for education, religious freedom, and, almost as one man, against slavery.

It was a Frenchman from Vincennes, and, I think, a Catholic, who, as chairman of the committee on a bill of rights, reported this provision, which was unanimously incorporated:

"All men have a natural and indefeasable right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences. No man shall be compelled to attend, erect or support any place of worship, or to maintain any ministry against his consent. No human authority ought in any case whatever to control or interfere with the rights of conscience. No preference shall ever be given by law to any religious societies or modes of worship, and no religious test shall be required as a qualification to any office of trust or profit."¹

The same Frenchman, as a member of the committee on education, consisting, beside himself, of a future judge (James Scott) of the Supreme Court of college training, and three members,² whose letters still in existence prove that they could neither spell conventionally nor express themselves grammatically, reported the following provision, also unanimously adopted:

¹ John Badollet, referred to here, was a native of Geneva, son of a Lutheran minister.—Ed.

² William Polke, Dan Lynn, John Boone.

"Knowledge and learning generally diffused through a community, being essential to the preservation of a free government, and spreading the opportunities and advantages of education through the various parts of the country being highly conducive to this end, it shall be the duty of the General Assembly to provide by law, for the improvement of such lands as are or hereafter may be granted by the United States to this State, for the use of schools, and to apply any funds which may be raised from such lands, or from any other quarter, to the accomplishment of the grand object for which they are or may be intended. But no lands granted for the use of schools, shall be sold by the authority of this State, prior to the year 1820, and the monies which may be raised out of the sale of any such lands, or otherwise obtained, for the purpose aforesaid, shall be and remain a fund, for the exclusive purpose of promoting the interest of literature and the sciences, and for the support of seminaries and public schools. The General Assembly shall, from time to time, pass such laws as shall be calculated to encourage intellectual, scientific and agricultural improvement, by allowing rewards and immunities for the promotion and improvement of arts, sciences, commerce, manufacturers, and natural history, and to countenance and encourage the principles of humanity, honesty, industry and morality."

Notwithstanding the fact that human slavery had been permitted in the territory and that slaves were recognized as property by territorial law, and the further fact that most of the members of the convention had emigrated from slave states, the convention, without even the formality of a vote, put this provision in the constitution:

"There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in this state, otherwise than for the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted. Nor shall any indenture of any negro or mulatto hereafter made and executed out of the bounds of this state be of any validity within the state."

The convention was in session three weeks and did not sit on Sunday. In that time its members builded for us a constitution in my opinion in many respects better than the one we have today.

Its members met here in Corydon in this noble building, and on hot days under the spreading elm we know and love so well. Let us in grateful reverence thank God for their labors.

It takes but little imagination to fancy we can see presiding in that hall today the courteous and suave Jonathan Jennings, beside the no less accomplished secretary, William

Hendricks, and about them gathered the learned and ambitious Isaac Blackford³ so recently from Princeton; sturdy, honest, and strenuous Dennis Pennington, backed by the nephew of Daniel Boone, the Irish Patrick Shields, progenitor of famous men, the shrewd and crafty Davis Floyd and the capable [Daniel C.] Lane. I see Frederick Rapp from New Harmony dreaming of a social millennium. And I see the Polke brothers, representing different counties [Perry and Knox], politicians and fighters, cousins of one then living who was to become President [James K. Polk]; a cousin who was to succeed, in that high office, the great soldier who had for twelve years been governor of the territory and was himself to be grandfather of another President yet unborn, whom we knew and whose memory we delight to honor.

I like to think that in that month of June a hundred years ago Thomas Lincoln came across the river from Hodgenville with his seven-year-old boy looking for better land in Indiana and, stopping with his brother Joseph on Big Blue river in Harrison county, brought the slim, big-eyed boy to get, in Corydon, his first glimpse of statesmanship and to go home to tell the loved Nancy and little Sarah of the promised land beyond the beautiful river, where, in the county named for the gallant captain [Spier Spencer] of the Yellow Jackets, they had chosen their future home.

I can see, too, the man [John Tipton] who succeeded at Spencer's death to the command of Corydon's Yellow Jackets, a hero of Tippecanoe, turned modest magistrate the same year, but who led the Yellow Jackets again at the battle of Tipton's Island in 1813. I see him crossing the street to the courthouse to talk with Floyd, Pennington and Boone about his candidacy for sheriff, and, as I look, the picture fades, and I see the founder of Logansport and the locator of Indianapolis standing in the Senate of the United States, as he did on February 5, 1836, and I can almost hear what he is saying:

"I do not wish to be considered an alarmist: my fears have not been operated upon by the rumors of war so frequently heard. I do not expect to raise recruits in time to terminate the war now raging between us and the Seminole Indians, nor am I influenced in the course I have taken by

³ Blackford was not a member. The speaker must have had Benjamin Parke in mind.

anything that has been said here or elsewhere on the subject of any other war; but purely by a desire to put our peace establishment upon a respectable footing, and to prevent the recurrence of these conflicts with the Indians on our borders.

I am unable to see any just cause for war, unless it arise from unfortunate collisions, which will occasionally occur. *I am convinced that the sure way to prevent war is to be well prepared for it.* I am aware that the people of this country look with a jealous eye upon every step taken to augment our military force. The people, when rightly informed, will do what is right. The army is their army; the money to support it is theirs; the government is theirs; and I feel assured that they desire to see the army sufficiently numerous to answer all the purposes for which it was created."

The next paragraph of his speech reads like a report made yesterday by the Secretary of War to our Senate.

"It is shown by these statements that, in the Eastern Department, on the lakes and along the seaboard, there are 33 military posts, 14 of which are now without troops to garrison them, and of course liable very soon to go to destruction.

In the Western Department there are 22 posts, 9 of them unoccupied by troops. The number of the rank and file of our army is so small that it is impossible for the troops to occupy all the forts. The companies, now consisting of about 50 men should be increased, so as to enable them to render all the service required to be performed by an army.

"The unsettled state of affairs in Mexico, and the actual war in Texas will cause a restiveness among the Indian tribes in the southwest border of the United States, which should not be unprovided for.

"The presence of a respectable force at Forts Armstrong and Snelling, in 1831-2, would have prevented the war (Blackhawk's) with the Soukees (Sacs), which cost us \$2,500,000; and a similar array of troops, if stationed at Fort King and Tampa, would certainly have prevented the war now going on in Florida—a war which will certainly end in the annihilation of the poor deluded Seminoles."

His words of warning fell on deaf ears. Would that today his ringing voice directing the way to lasting peace might be again heard in the Senate speaking for Indiana.

Richly indeed has this our old capital endowed the State with great men from among her sons. Much do we owe to you, Corydon, our ancient civic center. Today, we bring you just tribute, bride of Indiana's youth. I scorn to credit the tale so often told that an early governor named you from a silly, sentimental, dolorous song. Rather would I believe that in the golden days, when Spencer was captain of the Yellow

Jackets, as well as genial landlord of the tavern near where the courthouse was to be built in the, as yet, nameless village, viewing with delight the fair prospect of hills green with pasture and valleys rich with the promise of future production, in memory of the Faery Queen of the great poet, whose name he bore, our captain named the rustic village for the simple shepherd, Corydon, who, unrequited, wooed the fair shepherdess Pastorella; and, in his christening, consecrated the village forever to innocence, simplicity and beauty.

Fair Corydon, may another century's passing find you as simple, innocent, lovable and homelike as we have found you this day.

Reviews and Notes

INDIANA PAGEANTS

THE distinguishing feature of the Centennial Celebration in Indiana is the pageant. The State Historical Commission employed a pageant master, William Chauncey Langdon, to lead in this work. This pageant master has already written and directed the performance of pageants at Bloomington and Corydon. In the first instance the history of the town was joined with the development of the State University to form the theme of the pageant. At Corydon most of the episodes were based on the history of the town while it was the capital of the territory and State. Dr. Charles D. Campbell, professor of Music in the State University, wrote the music for both these pageants and directed the orchestra during its performance. Mr. Langdon and Dr. Campbell are now preparing for the State pageant to be given at Indianapolis.

The Fort Wayne Pageant was given June 6, 7 and 8. Donald Robertson was the pageant master, John L. Verwire prepared the music and David Fuller was stage manager. The six episodes dealt with the Indians, French, English, Wayne's Campaign, War of 1812, the Indian Agency, and the Civil War.

The Vincennes pageant was presented May 19. The pageant writer was George S. Cottman, who chose from the wealth of Vincennes history the Indians, Founding of Vincennes, its capture by Clark, and Vincennes the capital, as the basis of his episodes.

The Earlham Pageant at Richmond was written by Walter Carleton Woodward, Edna Johnson and Mary H. Flanner. This pageant celebrates the migration of the Quakers to the Whitewater Valley, the establishment of Earlham College and the development of their society in Indiana.

History of Indiana. By DR. JAMES ALBERT WOODBURN, Professor of American History in Indiana and Dr. Thomas F. Moran, Professor of History in Purdue. Longmans, Green & Co., 1916; pp. 63.

IN this brief pamphlet Professors Woodburn and Moran have brought together a short, pointed discussion of the leading topics in the State's history. It is intended as a manual for Indiana history work in the seventh and eighth grades. Most of the teachers of Indiana are acquainted with the authors' work, as teachers for over a quarter of a century, and they do not have to be told of their abilities either as scholars or writers. The pamphlet is illustrated and otherwise made attractive to young readers. It will be found a very useful little book in the hands of both teachers and pupils in our schools.

The Great Revival in the West 1797-1805. By CATHARINE CLEVELAND. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, pp. 215. Price \$1.00.

THIS is a doctoral dissertation written under the direction of Profs. J. F. Jamison and William E. Dodd in the History Seminar of Chicago University. The subject is one of the most attractive in the whole field of historical study in the Ohio valley. It is infinitely more important to account for the moral development of a community than its economical. It is a relief to find a piece of historical research that is not concerned entirely with economic conditions. The general field of Miss Cleveland's investigation is the settlements in Kentucky and Tennessee from 1797 to 1805. The people are the Scotch-Irish who had come to America about half a century earlier, had crowded to the foothills of the Alleghanies where they had remained during the Revolution. After that event they had spent some twenty-five years crossing over and establishing themselves in Kentucky. Into this frontier community came a number of powerful preachers belonging to the Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist churches. For lack of church buildings they were compelled to hold their services in the grove and so began the famous camp-meetings. The revival which began about 1800 lasted with varying in-

tensity for about five years. The history of this revival is the subject of Miss Cleveland's thesis. A list of the chapter heads will give the reader a better idea of the method of treatment. They are (1) The Religious Condition of the West Prior to 1800; (2) The Revival Leaders; Their Teachings and Methods; (3) The Spread of the Revival and its Culmination; (4) Phenomena of the Revival; (5) Results of the Revival. The appendices contain about thirty pages of documentary material. An excellent ten-page bibliography follows. The study is based on primary sources. The writing is clear, concrete and simple. The story is so interesting that it is only necessary to tell it in the simplest way. It is a neat little volume which can be read after dinner.

Historic Indiana; Centennial Edition Revised and Enlarged; Illustrated. By JULIA HENDERSON LEVERING. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1916 pp. 565. Price \$2.25.

THIS book has been on the market since 1909 and its continued popularity indicates its approval by the public. It is a most difficult book to review. It is neither history, historical romance, nor yet literature in the narrow sense of that term, but a well written entertaining, gossipy (in the good sense of the word) discussion of our State and the Hoosier folks. It is neither critical nor unduly laudatory of our achievements. Very few of the facts of our history are given but the larger movements and tendencies are pointed out and discussed with an accuracy that proves the author has a good grip on the State's history. Perhaps the most accurate description of HISTORIC INDIANA is to say it consists of twenty-two essays on as many phases of the State's history. The following reference to page four concerning LaSalle will show how far the book wanders from scientific history: "The eminent historian Parkman tells us, that by the loss of old records which have disappeared since 1756, we are deprived of the account of LaSalle's movements during the two years following his departure from Canada on the first mission of adventure. The memorandum that is preserved says that, after leaving Lake Erie six or seven miles distant he finally came to a stream which proved to be a branch of the river we call the Ohio; and that descending it for a long distance he joined

that river. Some have maintained that he went beyond the confluence of the Ohio with the Mississippi. As the source of the Wabash is near the west end of Lake Erie, a voyage down that river would naturally lead to the discovery of the Ohio. Doubtless, then, the Wabash country was approached from Lake Erie and the Maumee river, as this route was followed in later journeyings of the French. After crossing the broad lakes in their slight boats and paddling up the Maumee to its source, they probably made a short portage of their canoes and camp luggage to the headwaters of the Wabash only a few miles distant."

In the next sentence all this is taken for established fact and the author goes on in her lively style to say, "No incident could appeal more to the imagination than this advent of those birch-bark canoes, filled with the denizens of countries overseas, paddling down the newly-discovered stream whose rippling waters had flowed for centuries through the vast forest all undreamed of by white men."

That is a beautiful sentence yet we do not know whether there was such an incident, whether there were any birch bark canoes, nor whether they were filled by denizens of any country. We may presume the "rippling waters", "vast forest" but whether "all undreamed of by white men" is an open question. This is pointed out merely to show that the volume is not to be tested by the rules of historical criticism. The passage quoted will also serve to show the literary excellence of the book.

Such chapters as "The Pioneers", "The Trail", "In the Forties and Fifties", "Letters and Art in Indiana", "Education in Indiana" are real literature. As a readable account of the development of our State, and an appreciation of the State and its folks Mrs. Levering has given us perhaps the best that we have.

L. E.

History of Indiana. By OSCAR H. WILLIAMS, Assistant Professor of Education in Indiana. D. C. Heath & Co., 1916; pp. 72.

THIS is a brief history of the state for the use of schools devoting only a limited amount of time to the subject. It was

written for the seventh and eighth grades. Necessarily only the important topics in the subject are noticed. It is divided into topics and each chapter has a list of suggestive questions and it is well illustrated. Professor Williams is a teacher of experience and it goes without proof that the subject is well handled in the brief space used. It should be found a most helpful little book for those teachers of the State who want a brief manual of the State's history.

THE *Memorial to the Pioneer Mother of Indiana* is the title of a small, thirty page pamphlet issued by a Ways and Means Committee of the Pioneer Mother Memorial Association and edited by Miss Charity Dye of the Indiana Historical Commission. It consists of a number of sentiments expressed by various Indiana authors. Its purpose is to aid in the collection of money to secure some kind of memorial to the pioneer mothers of the State. For sale by the W. K. Stewart Co., Indianapolis. Price 25 cents.

THE *Minnesota History Bulletin*, May 1916, has a detailed description of the new Minnesota Historical Society Building now in process of construction. The State of Minnesota appropriated \$500,000 for this building which, when completed, will hold about 50,000 volumes. The Society paid \$75,000 for the site. It is being built of granite and marble and is to be dedicated to the pioneers of the State whose historical remains it will house.

THE *Liberty Express* of June 15, 1916, is a Centennial number. It contains a number of valuable historical articles by Ellis Searles treating of the schools, agriculture, politics, statesmen, authors, transportation and various other phases of the State history. The edition is of 24 pages and printed in colors and interestingly illustrated.

THE *Commonwealth Review of the University of Oregon*, the second number of which was issued by the University, April, 1916, is a quarterly devoted to the discussion of State government and politics. It is non-political and most of its articles are written by State officers and members of the

faculties of colleges. Several attempts at this kind of thing have been made in Indiana but all have shipwrecked on politics. The general tone of the Oregon quarterly is not polemical or propagandist, but explanatory and historical. F. G. Young is editor.

THE *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for June 1916, has four important articles. The first by Verner W. Crane is entitled, "The Tennessee River as the Road to Carolina". This is a study of early explorations and fur trade. The second article entitled "Virginia and the West; An Interpretation", is by Professor C. W. Alvord; the third is a discussion of the history of agriculture as a field of study. This is by Louis B. Schmidt. The fourth and most valuable for workers in the field of history is "Historical Activities in the Old Northwest" by Arthur C. Cole.

THE *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* for March 1916, has a valuable study of the Indians as they were when the explorers first found them. The writer, Mr. O. B. Sperlin, has examined over one hundred records of the first visits of white men to Indian tribes. His conclusion is quite favorable to the Indians. Another article is by Harrison C. Dale, in which he maintains that the noted scout Ramsay Crooks discovered the South Pass long before John C. Fremont did.

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BY

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All in all, Mr. Esarey has made a distinct contribution to the history of Indiana, and in so doing to the history of the nation.
The American Historical Review, October, 1915.

Opinions of the Reviewers:

The work bears the stamp of true scholarship. The author's method of treatment is topical, and hence this book ought to form a convenient reference work for the student of American History.

The Catholic Historical Review, October, 1915.

It is perhaps no exaggeration to say that this is the most scholarly and satisfactory volume on the history of Indiana that has thus far been written.
Iowa Journal of History and Politics, July, 1915.

The statements throughout the book are very clear; the English is good, and nowhere is there any straining after effect. The aim has been to state the facts without prejudice or bias, and this has been accomplished to a surprising degree. The matter presented is well organized.

Professor W. O. Lynch in the *Indiana University Alumni Quarterly*, July, 1915.

Mr. Esarey has cultivated a field only partially developed by prior historians. In the portion of his volume which tells the story of the State from 1816-1851, his care and industry and his merits as an historian are conspicuous. In his preparation of it he has rendered a great service to the State and his work will be highly appreciated by all who are interested in preserving its history.

Judge Daniel Walt Howe, president of Indiana Historical Society, in the *Indiana Magazine of History*, June, 1915.

Mr. Esarey's volume is one of the best examples of State history as it ought to be written.

The Nation, October 21, 1915.

As one of the best discussions of the subject we have ever read, we especially recommend the chapter entitled, "Pioneers and Their Social Life". This is a plain, dignified, matter-of-fact account of early life and conditions in Indiana, free from speculation and theory, and, on that account, doubly valuable. However, as much could be said of other chapters of the work. It is, in short, admirable from beginning to end—so commendable, in fact, that the reader is led to hope that the author will prepare a companion volume and treat of Indiana's history from 1850 onward.

The Indianapolis News, March 22, 1915.

While Professor Esarey gives due attention to wars and politics and governments, he fully describes the life of the people, their habits, customs and social institutions. The book is admirable throughout. It is highly creditable to the author, the university and the State.

From the *Evansville Courier*, April 21, 1915.

Dr. Esarey's volume is a distinct addition to the history of the State, and it is fortunate that the work was in the hands of a real investigator. The volume brings the history to the adoption of the present Constitution in 1851, and it is to be hoped that the author will soon give us one or more volumes that will complete the history to the present time.

Bloomington World, April 29, 1915.

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In the early days its annual meetings were one of the great occasions of the winter at the State capital. Among its early members were eight governors, all the judges of the supreme and federal courts, most of the circuit judges, a majority of the U. S. senators and congressmen and other leading men of the State. The annual address was usually given by one of the great men of the nation.

The society has never had a building to house its collections nor adequate funds to publish its papers. Its membership fee has been one dollar per year until quite recently when it was raised to two. One dollar of this fee goes to the Indiana Magazine of History which is sent free to all members. A small donation is made annually by the State. It has never received but one gift or endowment. This was made by Hon. William H. English, its former president and one of the distinguished historians of the State.

The Society should have an income of \$5,000 per year. Indiana has at least 5,000 men and women who are interested in the State's history; and it is thought that if the matter were brought to their attention they would help in the work. The membership fee is not a gift. The Society sends its publications free to its members. These will cost on an average \$1 per year. It also sends the Indiana Magazine of History, of which it is a joint publisher, free. The price of the Magazine itself is the same as the entire membership fee.

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INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

Vol. XII

DECEMBER, 1916

No. 4

Monroe County in the Mexican War

By H. C. DUNCAN

This paper will not discuss the war with Mexico, the cause of the war, its campaigns and results. That is all history and can be found in the many histories of that short but decisive conflict.

By reason of pressing demands on my time I have not been able to give the subject the time and attention I desired and its importance demanded. I was compelled to depend largely upon the memories of persons then living in which two persons rarely agreed. Time had either obliterated the early impressions or had left them so blurred that the information sought was at least of doubtful authenticity. Within the past few years General Oran Perry, a late adjutant general of the State, has compiled a work on Indiana in the Mexican War which has the general orders, proclamations, etc., of the governor and adjutant general of the State covering that period, together with extracts from the newspapers of the time, giving copies of private letters written from the front to individuals and published in the papers, and from letters written to the papers, but nearly all of these were local, referring only to the particular company and concluding with lengthy contemporaneous letters discussing the conduct of the Second Indiana Regiment at the battle of Buena Vista. It has also the roster of the five

¹ Read before the Monroe County Historical Society, Jan. 13, 1911. Judge Duncan died Jan. 30, 1911. See INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY VII, 31.

regiments furnished by Indiana to the Mexican War, together with the mounted riflemen. There is but little in these except to show the time of muster in and out, deaths, discharges and desertions, and nothing showing the residence of the individual soldier.² In fact, the opportunities for getting information with reference to the particular part played by Monroe county men in that campaign with all it accomplished, with what it added in wealth and numbers to United States, are indeed meagre. At that time the special correspondent had not been discovered, the modern newspaper had not been developed and there is nothing to which we can go except the ill-kept records and the memories of old people. The former is never of interest, the latter uncertain.

On May 13, 1846, President Polk approved the Act of Congress declaring war with Mexico and calling for 50,000 volunteers to serve for one year, or during the war, and appropriating \$10,000,000 for defraying its expenses. On May 16, 1846, the secretary of war called on the governor of Indiana for three regiments of infantry or riflemen, practically 3,000 men, as its quota. On the 22nd of May Governor James Whitcomb issued his proclamation calling for companies to be raised, each company to report its organization to him as soon as filled and the officers selected, to march to New Albany preparatory to organizing into regiments and to moving on to Mexico, saying the communication from Washington, calling for the volunteers was dated "the 16th and was received late last evening." This you will see was before the days of telegraph or fast mail and required five days to reach Indianapolis from Washington, and then got there "late in the evening."

The order of the adjutant general, accompanying the governor's message goes into very great details of the organization of the troops. It limited each company to eighty privates, four corporals, four sergeants, two lieutenants and one captain. It did not authorize anyone to raise a company, but promised that after a company was filled there should be an election for all of the officers from captain down which

² It would be a valuable contribution to State History if some competent person in each county which sent soldiers to the Mexican War would do what the author has done in this paper.—ED.

should be certified to the governor who would issue commissions to the commissioned officers.

At that time Indiana was without any military organization. There had been no war since that of 1812. The country was new, everybody was engaged in subduing the wilderness and in other peaceful pursuits. Peace reigned throughout the country. The old days of militia muster had passed and there was no military establishment from which to draw or around which the military spirit could concentrate. So far as Indiana was concerned the military organization must be built from the ground up. As soon as the governor's proclamation calling for troops was received at Bloomington, recruiting began. Lieutenant Governor Paris Dunning, James S. Hester, Willis A. Gorman and John M. Sluss all had military aspirations and entered into the work of recruiting with energy and enthusiasm. By the 15th of June the full company had been recruited; an election of officers was held and John M. Sluss was elected captain, John Eller, first lieutenant; Aquilla Rogers, second lieutenant, and Thomas Rogers, third lieutenant. The regulation made no provision for a third lieutenant, but nearly all the companies elected one and I have not been able to learn their duties or what became of them. The company was recruited and organized, reported to the governor and commissions received, and the company was ready to march in twenty-four days from the time the governor's proclamation was issued. When it is considered there was no telegraph nor telephone, that mail came only by stage which took a whole day from Bloomington to Indianapolis; that the stage made only about two trips a week, it will be understood that the company was recruited and organized in a remarkably short space of time. On the 15th of June, 1846, the company started to the front. While the company was being recruited the ladies of Bloomington bought the silk and with their own hands made a flag for presentation. This was presented to the company by Miss Sarah E. Markle, late the wife of our honored and esteemed fellow-townsmen, William F. Browning. Fortunately the speech of presentation has been preserved and is as follows:

"Gentlemen of the Monroe Guards: On behalf of the ladies of Monroe County, I present to you this flag, and with it their warmest applause

for the choice you have made. You are about to sacrifice the comforts to which you have been accustomed, to undergo and endure the privations of a soldiers' life, and to exchange your peaceful and happy homes with their cheerful firesides for the field of battle and camp life. Yet in this there is no cause for regret. You make the sacrifice not at the call of a despot nor to satisfy a criminal ambition, but in the name of that beloved liberty which is dearer to you and to us than life. Your choice is that of patriotic, brave men, and as such we honor it and you. And while you are fighting the battles of our beloved country for liberty, thereby endangering your lives, we shall wait with impatience for the glad tidings of your welfare and success. A portion of the glory achieved by you will be reflected upon the thousands who are here today to say goodbye and to bid you Godspeed and to pledge you our prayers and good wishes for the glorious triumph of this flag and of our country.

"Take this flag as the emblem of liberty and union and may its presence ever be the true emblem of the downfall of the enemies of American freedom."

It is not certain just where the presentation took place. One who was present says that it was in front of the Butler Corner, now the Bowles Hotel. Another who was also present, says that it was on the common just east of the Christian church. Mr. Markle, the father of Miss Markle, lived in the two story, hewed log house in which Elias Able died, at the southeast corner of Rogers and Seventh streets. The departure of this company was a sad day for Bloomington. Many of the best young men were going to a foreign land, to an inhospitable climate, to endure the hardships of a military campaign. They were to go to New Albany where they would be organized in regiments. There was no railroad and the farmers of the community gave a lift with wagons and teams. Our old friend, Esquire William L. Adams, was then a young man of seventeen and at the time was working for Isaac Buskirk, who lived near Mt. Gilead church on the Unionville road. He had two boys in the company and sent a wagon which Esquire Adams drove. John Whisenand, Isaac Whisenand, James Storms, David Rader and Joseph Dearman all sent wagons. The line of march was down Walnut street on to the Salem road, past Fairfax, where the company camped the first night, on through Heltonsville, Leesville and Salem to New Albany which was reached on the third day. The company went into camp there and became Company A of the Third regiment, commanded by Colonel

James H. Lane of Lawrenceburg, afterwards a major general in the Civil War and a United States senator from the State of Kansas. At that time the science of war had not advanced to its present efficiency. The volunteer army of this State was organized on a decidedly democratic basis. Both the field and line officers were elected by the men of the regiment, the staff officers were appointed by the President and the non-commissioned staff by the colonel of the regiment. While the company was the actual unit in the Mexican war, it was designated by name. Each company had a name and carried it with it into history. The men were not known as members of a regiment or brigade, but of a certain named company. Thus Captain Sluss's company was the "Monroe Guards," the company from Lawrence county, the "Lawrence Grays," the Brown county company, "Brown County Blues," the Greene county company, "Greene County Volunteers," etc.

The men furnished their own clothing, although subsequently they were reimbursed by the government. This company got its uniforms at New Albany, which consisted of a gray cashmere sack coat with black velvet stripes up the front, pants of the same material with black velvet stripes up the legs, broad brim, gray hat with the brim turned up at the side. By an order from the ordinance office at Washington, the Indiana troops were to be supplied at Baton Rouge with musketry and accoutrements, forty cartridges and two flints for each musket. The old muskets issued were pretty crude. They were smooth bored with flint locks and muzzle loaders. The cartridges were hand made and consisted of one large ball and three buck shot.

Of course there was great enthusiasm manifested during the organization of the company. The military spirit was thoroughly aroused. A desire to march into the enemy's country and to resent the insults to the flag were manifested on all sides. Some of the volunteers in their fiery zeal while on the streets of Bloomington delighted to shoot down imaginary Mexicans who might be straying into the interior. Two of these blood-thirsty ones, who delighted in this harmless but appalling pastime, after marching to New Albany and seeing the probabilities of war, remembered the helpless

condition of loved ones at home, cried and begged so piteously to be returned that Captain Sluss permitted them to go.

This company was mustered into the United States service by Colonel Churchill of the regular army on June 22, 1846, and on the 8th or 9th of July took a steamboat for New Orleans, where it landed on the battlefield just below the city on the 15th, and was immediately transferred to ocean vessels and started to Point Isabella at the mouth of the Rio Grande, at which point the boat arrived in three days, when a storm came up which blew the vessel out to sea where it remained eight days, buffeting the waves. Nearly everybody on board suffered from sea-sickness, but the vessel finally landed in safety. I have not been able to get the name of this ship. The regiment was in Taylor's army, participated in the battle of Buena Vista and companies A and B under the direct command of Major Gorman brought on and closed the battle.

After the expiration of its term of enlistment the company came home by steamboat to Madison, then by the old Madison and Indianapolis road to Columbus and from there marched to Bloomington. On its return a big barbecue was given in Dunn's Woods, now the College Campus. Speeches were made. Every man was made a hero and a general glorious time was had. Long trenches were dug in which great quantities of wood were placed which was fired. Cattle and sheep, furnished by the farmers of the community, were butchered and barbecued over the roasting coals.

The members of this company were: John M. Sluss captain, Henry R. Seall first lieutenant, Allen Crocker second lieutenant, Isaac S. Buskirk first sergeant, William C. Foster sergeant, James Frits sergeant, Edward J. Pullen sergeant, Robert K. Nelson corporal, Daniel Iseminger corporal, Dudley Rogers corporal, Richard Radcliff corporal, William B. Crocker musician, E. F. Harney musician. Privates: Owen Adkins, Oliver Adkins, John M. Armstrong, W. G. Applegate, Benjamin Bruner, William Boyd, William Campbell, James A. Dale, James I. Davis, Christopher C. Fleener, Garlin F. Fleener, James Fleener, John B. Givens, Robert W. Graham, William H. Harvey, Adam Hunter, William L. Hardesty, Samuel G. Jamison, William Johnson, John Knight, John

B. Langewell, Thomas Langewell, Isaac S. Leabo, James Little, William Lamkins, William J. Lake, John Martin, Elijah Morgan, Thomas McNaught, Trayless Mize, James Matlock, John Nuckles, John Osborne, Joseph W. Pullen, John Phillips, William Rowe, Addison C. Smith, Sylvester Stongar, Strother Stongar, Robert Strong, Leonidas P. Skirvin, Simpson S. Skirvin, John H. Strain, L. R. Thompson, Austin Truit, Samuel S. Taylor, Solon O. Whitson, Numa M. Whitson, Richard G. Walker, Morris L. Baker, George A. Buskirk. Privates discharged: Joseph Thomas, Solomon Langewell, Solomon May, John A. Dale, William McPhetridge, Phillip H. Smith, William Cox, Samuel Sexton.

In the organization there was considerable rivalry for position. Governor Dunning, Captain John M. Sluss, Colonel James S. Hester and Captain Frank Ottwell all wanted to be captain. Sluss was elected. Governor Dunning got an appointment as sutler and none of the others went. Willis A. Gorman was a popular young Democratic politician, who had been a member of the legislature, enlisted among the first, was accused of military aspirations which he denied, took the position of orderly sergeant and in the organization of the regiment was elected major. He served with great distinction, before the expiration of his term came home and was elected colonel of the Fourth regiment. He afterwards was elected to Congress, was appointed governor of Minnesota territory by President Buchanan, was colonel of the First Minnesota regiment in the Civil War and got to be a brigadier general.

Captain John M. Sluss was a large man, a Kentuckian, who had moved here from the Blue Grass part of the State, was an exceedingly popular man, returned and lived to a good old age, honored and respected by everybody as an honest, conscientious, Christian gentleman and a good soldier.

Lieutenant John Eller was a brother of Henry and George Eller, and an uncle of John T. Eller, a very popular man and sheriff of the county at the time he enlisted. He died October 4, 1846. The boat on which his body was being brought home sank in the Mississippi river July 29, 1847, just below Baton Rouge and his body was never recovered. Henry R. Seal

was promoted to first lieutenant from the ranks. He was subsequently a merchant at Ellettsville. Aquilla Rogers was a second lieutenant but resigned. Thomas Rogers was promoted from third lieutenant, died May, 1847, and Allen Crocker was promoted to second lieutenant.

A great many of this company subsequently acquired considerable distinction both in military and civil life. Isaac Buskirk, who succeeded Colonel Gorman as orderly sergeant, was a captain in the Tenth Indiana cavalry. Edward J. Pullen, a duty sergeant, was a colonel in the Confederate army. Daniel Iseminger, a corporal, was a captain in an Iowa regiment and was killed at the Battle of Shiloh in command of the regiment.

Private John M. Armstrong was a captain of Company K of the Fourteenth Indiana and served during the Civil War. James I. Davis, a private, was the first man wounded at the Battle of Buena Vista. He lived south of town near Smithville and was the father of Mrs. John P. Foster and died within the last few years. Private E. E. Heney was a colonel of an Iowa regiment in the Civil War. Private Thomas McNaught was colonel of the Fifty-ninth Indiana in the Civil War, was breveted brigadier general and now lives in Spencer, a hale and hearty octogenarian. Austin Truitt at the Battle of Buena Vista, tore the flag which had been presented to the company by Miss Markle, from the staff, stuffed it in his bosom and carried it back seven miles to Saltillo. George A. Buskirk was a prominent man in this community, was common pleas judge, state agent, member of the legislature, founded the First National Bank of Bloomington, acquired the greatest fortune of any man in the county at that time and died at the age of forty-five. Private Morris L. Baker was captain of Company A of the Third Iowa cavalry in the Civil War, serving over two years. At the Battle of Pea Ridge in Arkansas he was ordered to charge with his own and another company, went into ambush by which his command suffered terribly. Captain Baker and General McNaught are the only living members of the Monroe Guards, who left Bloomington for Mexico on June 15, 1846. John Service, Israel Winkler, Robert Black, John Turner, Lieut. John Eller, John Moore, Robert A. Givens, Benjamin Adkins,

Lieut. Thomas Rogers, and Randolph Sloan died of disease. William B. Holland, James M. Buskirk and David I. Stout were killed at the Battle of Buena Vista.

On the 19th of April, 1847, the secretary of war called for additional volunteers "to serve during the War with Mexico unless sooner discharged," of which one regiment was assigned to Indiana. On the 24th of the same month Governor Whitcomb issued his call "to the brave, enterprising and patriotic citizens of our State to respond to the call." By instructions of the adjutant general the companies, as soon as organized were to report to "Old Fort Clark" near Jeffersonville. Immediately upon receipt of the governor's call the organization of another company was begun in this county which was completed and reported to the governor on May 30, 1847. The company was named the "Rough and Ready Guards," was officered by Captain Daniel Lunderman, William McPhetridge, first lieutenant, Barton Acuff and Thomas A. Reynolds, second lieutenants, and became Company G of the Fourth Indiana, commanded by Colonel Willis A. Gorman. I can find very little of the details of the organization of this company. It was presented with a flag by the ladies of Bloomington, but who made the presentation speech, I am unable to say. The company, after being organized, marched to Columbus, took a train there to Madison and presumably went from there by boat to Jeffersonville. On the 28th of June, 1847, the Fourth Indiana left Jeffersonville for New Orleans on three steamboats, Captain Lunderman's company going on the steamboat "Franklin." The regiment went from New Orleans to the mouth of the Rio Grande and was a part of General Scott's army and with him went to the City of Mexico. The regiment returned to Madison, was mustered out July 16, 1848, came by rail to Columbus and then marched home on foot. A list of the men in this company is as follows: Daniel Lunderman captain, William McPhetridge first lieutenant, Barton Acuff second lieutenant, Thomas A. Reynolds second lieutenant, David Skillman first sergeant, James Eson sergeant, Charles G. Corr sergeant, Archibald F. Umpstaddt sergeant, Truman Buckles corporal, Henry Baugh corporal, John W. Day corporal, John Sullivan corporal, Columbus C. Mershon drummer, Robert Laudrum fifer. Pri-

vates: Edward Armstrong, George Armstrong, Henry A. Bailey, Jackson Bales, James Bales, Stephen Bales, John Baugh, James Bean, George H. Butler, Morgan Carter, John Chaffee, Lewis Creary, Robert Daniels, James R. Dearmin, Joel Deckard, Jonas Devenport, Jesse Elsett, John A. Garrett, John Glessner, Abraham Goodnight, Elijah Havvons, Silas B. Hovions, William Hovions, Valentine Heans, William Hunt, Daniel Jacobs, John Jones, Wiley Jackson, Stephen Lindley, George Marshall, William Mattock, John McWaught, Andrew J. Mefford, John Miller, Alexander Moberly, Thomas Pickle, James Richardson, Young I. Robinson, Harmon I. Rockett, Hamilton Slough, Daniel Spencer, Lawson Summitt, George Smith, Caleb H. Stone, James Thompson, William H. Virt, James M. York, David Wooster, John McClure, Samuel Bon-sall, C. S. Chipman, John Neal, Jonathan Bruison, Benjamin F. Welts.

No man of this company was killed in battle although several died of disease. The deaths were William Dawson, Isaac Peterson, William Blair, Hiram Carter, Solomon M. Grunt, Joel Hancock and Henry B. Wilson.

Captain Lunderman was a brother-in-law of Colonel Gorman. Both married daughters of Ellis Stone, a pioneer of Monroe county, who lived in a brick house just south of the Indianapolis Southern Railroad about two miles west of the city. He there owned a large body of land and raised a large family. Caleb H. Stone, a private of Lunderman's company, was a son of Ellis Stone and a brother-in-law of both Colonel Gorman and Captain Lunderman. In the early fifties Captain Lunderman took a body of men from this vicinity and went overland to California, taking with him a drove of cattle. He was a captain of the Twenty-second Indiana regiment in the Civil War, for years a justice of the peace in this city, living on College avenue just north of Third street.

William McPhetridge, first lieutenant, had been a private in Captain Sluss's company, was discharged, came home and assisted Lunderman in raising his company. Barton Acuff lived and died in Ellettsville. Charles G. Corr, a duty sergeant, was for a long time a prominent citizen of Washington township and lived and died a few years ago in this city. George H. Butler, a private, was a captain in the Civil War.

I have not been able to learn of a single man of this company now living. After making very exhaustive investigation and making many inquiries of the old citizens, I have been unable to learn anything with reference to the circumstances of the organization or anything pertaining to the company, except what I find in print.

In the spring of 1847 Congress authorized the organization of the 16th Regulars which was almost wholly recruited in this State and in Kentucky. It was largely a political organization commanded and officered almost wholly by Democratic adherents of President Polk's administration. Company D was recruited largely from this county. James Hughes, afterwards judge of the circuit court, a member of Congress, a judge of the court of claims, and an all around Democratic politician, was first lieutenant, and the officer who did most of the recruiting. Colonel Richard Owen afterwards colonel of the Sixtieth Indiana and from 1863 to 1879 a professor in the State University, was captain of the company. While the company was being recruited, the men boarded at "Bob Farmers" on the south side of the Public Square where the Allen Block now stands. At one time in order to stimulate recruiting Judge Hughes marched the men to Finley's Mill in Brown county, where they remained about ten days being boarded by the farmers in that locality. The men would be formed in a line, the flag unfurled, the drum beat, the fife played, the men marched and counter-marched, but the military spirit was not rampant and but few recruits were obtained in that locality.

The company was filled in about a month, was marched to Columbus, then taken by rail to Madison, then by a boat to Newport, Kentucky, where on May 12, 1847, they started to Mexico, going by boat to New Orleans, then by sailing vessel to the mouth of the Rio Grande and by boat from there to Monterey. Their campaigning was not hard, the most of the time being on detached duty, guarding prisoners. They returned home August 12, 1848. I have not been able to get a list of the men in this command. I have been able to get the names of the following, who, nearly all, lived in Salt Creek and Polk townships: Coleman A. Carter, Jack Wampler, Silas D. Chandler, Robert Rutherford, William Ruther-

ford, Elisha Maples, Benjamin McFarland, Calvin McFarland, Noah Cox, Hiram T. Sherrall, Solomon C. Payne and Jesse Devers; the last was drowned in the Rio Grande. Solomon C. Payne of Paynetown and Hiram T. Sherrall of Bloomington, both veterans of the Civil War, are the only members belonging to that company now known to be living. Dr. Jerry Wooden of Gosport was in the same regiment but in another company.

Of almost three hundred men who went from Monroe county to the Mexican War, I now know of but five men living, General McNaught, Captain M. L. Baker, Solomon C. Payne, Hiram T. Sherrall and Granville Jackson.

To me it is sad that these men who left their homes and their firesides to go into a foreign country to an inhospitable climate, to the burning sands of the Rio Grande and Mexico to fight the battles of their country, to maintain the dignity of their flag, whose bravery, sufferings, and fortitude added so much to the material wealth of the country, who by their valor and patriotism added an empire, should almost wholly be forgotten. What would this country have been without the effects of the Mexican War? Gold taken in a single year from the territory acquired by this conflict would many times pay the expense of the short and decisive campaigns.

It cannot be charged to these men that they went with a mercenary spirit. Their compensation was \$7.00 per month. At the time of enlistment they were required to furnish their own clothing with the promise that it would subsequently be repaid. Much has been written of the glories and achievements of the soldiers in the War with Mexico. O'Harra, a Mexican soldier from Kentucky, wrote the immortal lines which will be found in enduring form in every national cemetery throughout the Union:

On fame's eternal battlefield
Their silent tents are spread,
While glory guards with solemn round
The bivouac of the dead.

Development of the City School System of Indiana—1851-1880 (Concluded)

BY HAROLD LITTELL, A.B., Logansport, Ind.

THE PROBLEM OF GRADING

Primarily the thing which differentiated a majority of the city or town systems of schools from the rural schools was that the former were graded while the latter were not. Although all advantages existed in grading pupils, and there was no argument against it, yet this system, in several places, had its struggle along with the other phases of educational development. People looked upon it as a fad; they would not hear to such a thing being instituted in their buildings. Another class considered it expensive. Where two or three teachers had previously handled eighty or ninety pupils without gradation, it would take six or eight teachers to handle the same number after they were classified. The first objection was easy to overcome. It was only a question of educating the people up to it. The second was a more difficult problem, the solving of which took time. Many places desired graded schools long before they were able to finance them.

The nongraded school, which has been referred to several times, needs but a word of explanation. In such a school was usually, though not always, but one or perhaps two teachers. The rooms contained all classes of pupils, from the entering age of six, or even lower, to those who had passed twenty-one. There was no division line that marked one grade from another, the big boys and girls going into the class which suited their size and age. In some cases, the parent dictated the class to which his child should belong by sending the latter to school with a book and telling the teacher to let his child use it. This was done regardless of whether the child could master it or not. It was the way of promotion. The school situation presented a problem which the teacher had to work out the best he could with the mate-

rial he had to work with. As a rule very little was done. A child on leaving school at the end of the year did not know where he would belong the following year. A change of teachers might demote him or promote him, just as the teacher felt about the matter. If a teacher was sufficiently well educated to draw any line of distinction between his pupils on that basis, the subject considered first of all was "figuring." The power to use numbers was considered about all that was worth while among the patrons.

In schools of earlier origin, the instruction was given to each individual separately. Usually there were as many text books as pupils, if each was fortunate enough to own one. Spelling was given out to all the school at the same time, standing in a row, but the words were selected to suit the ability of the child.

Such schools were largely dominated by the influential patrons, whose children, as a rule, received most of the teacher's attention, and consequently progressed fairly well. The others had to get along the best way they could.

In Salem, in 1857, a school was organized under H. D. Wilson. This school was not graded, and there was no prospect of the inauguration of such a system. A majority of the people strongly oposed it. At Muncie, the same year, conditions were even worse. There were two public schools in the city, both failures, not on account of any fault of the teachers, but because all the children in the town, of every grade, were crowded into the small school houses, rendering it impossible for any teacher to effect an organization that would work to advantage.

As late as 1867, Crawfordsville, with two school buildings, had not yet instituted the graded system. It was during the fall of that year that the trustees decided to place their schools on that basis. In the same year, the following report came from Bluffton:

"The schools of this place have never been graded, the citizens claiming the inestimable right to send to the school which they prefer. As a consequence of this there are as many separate schools as houses, namely, three."

In Rochester (1867) with two hundred and fifty pupils the schools had not yet been graded. It was during that year

that the trustees, examiners, and patrons, after a consultation, decided to introduce the system the following year. Logansport, in 1867, was another city which had as many separate schools as it had houses. Each was independent of the other, and no system of grading was maintained anywhere. Two years later (1869) the schools were all graded and put in a systematic form. Worthington, in 1870, had not yet been incorporated, hence a town school system had not been instituted. The citizens began a movement that year to incorporate, whereby they might be able to levy a local school tax and organize a graded school system. In the same year (1870) Washington still contented herself with ungraded schools. At that time there were three separate schools working individually and without any system. These drew on the public funds while they lasted, then for the remainder of the year were supported by a few patrons. Tipton made a start toward gradation in 1870. A movement was started all at once for the betterment of educational conditions in that place. Special taxation, a graded system of schools, uniform textbooks all over the city, and a new school building, all marked a change for the better. Lebanon, in 1872, had not yet perfected a graded system. Sullivan, in the same year, made provisions for gradation by building a fine school building. It had to do this in order to cope with its neighbors, Carlisle and Paxton, in the same county, where there were good graded schools. Danville (1872) had a very poor system of schools. There was no careful grading and no supervision. These latter usually went hand in hand. Up to 1874, Jeffersonville had a very imperfect system of grading in its schools. An attempt was made to separate the sexes, from the lowest grade up to the high school. In so doing two or three grades of boys, with two teachers, were in one room, and in another room were duplicated grades of girls. This worked very badly. In 1874 this custom was abolished, and new ones set up as follows: (1) All pupils were to be graded according to age and advancement, regardless of sex. (2) One grade to each room. (3) One teacher to a grade. Considerable opposition was manifested by the parents, especially in regard to the mixing of sexes, but they soon became perfectly satisfied with the new system. At

Winchester, in 1873, each teacher had from two to three grades. The superintendent, Mr. Ault, did his best to keep the work systematic, and was supported by an earnest corps of teachers. He laid out the month's work for each teacher, and required much oral work done in the primary grades.

It is seen that in some sections of the State graded schools were several years getting a start. Lack of funds, as has just been pointed out, was the principal reason. Yet, although this condition existed in many places, there were numerous cities and towns which got their schools graded in a very short time after their organization. Such cities had profited by the experience of the private, individual schools before the law gave them the power to establish public institutions. In such places, too, the superintendent was a man of experience and knew the advantages to be gained from a centralized, graded system of schools. In fact this was his business.

At Evansville, as early as 1856, the schools were graded closely. The chain of gradation extended from the primary to the high school. At that time the schools were classified into four grades, high school, grammar, intermediate, and primary. By 1860, with the erection of a large building, the system was still further extended. Lafayette, in 1856, had a similar system of gradation, the primary, secondary, intermediate, and grammar departments constituting their complete cycle at that time. Richmond, under the superintendency of J. Hurty, had, by 1856, a good graded system of schools, although the buildings were crowded. As early as that date the school board hired no teacher who had not had some professional training. The schools were all classified and graded, and a careful system of discipline and instruction was maintained.

By 1857 the schools of Indianapolis had assumed a place among the best in the State. The grading was as perfect as the time would permit, and the course of study laid down in each department was pursued to the letter. Superintendent George B. Stone devoted almost his entire time to the matter of supervising his teachers. The people were proud of their graded system. There were five departments, primary, secondary, intermediate, grammar, and high school. Shelbyville, in 1859, had a unique system of gradation in its

schools. Superintendent W. T. Hatch gave out the following statement in February of that year:

"Our Grammar School has just closed its first session for 1858-59. We have had on our register over 400 pupils in the English department, which consists of seven grades, and about 50 pupils in the German department under a native German teacher. Over 50, also, of our English pupils have been studying German. Our school is in a more flourishing condition now than ever before."

By 1862, Muncie, under the leadership of Superintendent Richards, had its schools systematically graded. The State superintendent at that time reported the schools among the best arranged in the State. Fort Wayne, in 1866, had 2,050 pupils enrolled in its schools. They were classified under the head of primary, secondary, intermediate, grammar, and high school. The following table taken from the city superintendent's report for December, 1865, will give an idea of the systematic arrangement of grades maintained:

Schools	Number Enrolled	Average Daily Attendance	Number of Seats
West Division—			
Grammar -----	83	63	92
Intermediate -----	92	70	92
Senior Secondary -----	80	69	58
Junior Secondary -----	99	68	54
Senior Primary -----	94	65	54
Junior Primary -----	105	88	54
Boys' Primary -----	134	94	72
Girls' Primary -----	111	80	72
East Division—			
Grammar -----	39	34	60
Intermediate -----	54	36	72
Senior Secondary -----	75	50	72
Junior Secondary -----	103	76	60
Boys' Primary -----	116	88	66
Girls' Primary -----	102	73	71

Another table from the same school gives one further evidence that they kept relatively close watch over the subjects themselves. Numbers engaged in the various studies were reported as follows:

Reading -----	1580	Geography -----	809
Spelling -----	1426	Grammar -----	158
Writing -----	1426	Drawing -----	16
Arithmetic -----	917	Composition -----	587

Declamations, 1747 (included High School).

Attica, in 1872, had developed a system of gradation. The children of the first and second primary grades had their work so arranged that they were kept in school but three hours daily. This is quite in harmony with the plan of today, 1912. Elkhart, in 1871, had a very good system of organized schools. The grades below the high school were divided into two classes of four grades each. Grammar, A, B, C, and D; primary, A, B, C, and D. The system of grading at Cambridge City in 1874 marked another deviation from those already given. The course of study for the schools of this city comprised nine grades, exclusive of a three-year course in the high school. This was a year more than the other cities allotted to grade work.

In order to get an idea of what the cities did in developing their systems, the following table is given for 1871. The data is for the month of September of that year:

Name	Number Enrolled	No. Days School	Average No. Be- longing	Average Daily Attend- ance	Per cent. of Attend- ance	Number	
						Cases of Tar- diness	Neither Tardy Nor Absent
Indianapolis ---	5359*	18	4874	4691	92.2	613	2751
Muncie -----	652	--	585	510	88.7	---	127
Richmond -----	1554	18½	1391	1315	94.	170	599
Seymour -----	464	20	408	376	92.	116	119
Wabash -----	555	18	480	453	94.3	12	244
Attica -----	400	17	337	306	91.	18	109
Evansville ----	3577	20	3453	2320	96.1	716	1974
Lawrenceburg _	575	18	496	473	95.2	21	394
Elkhart -----	599	20	517	491	95.	41	214
Franklin -----	604	20	546	531	96.4	35	358
Noblesville ----	370	10	361	349	97.	49	275
Princeton -----	445	17	401	377	94.	297	100
Edinburg -----	412	--	396	389	98.2	52	251
Frankfort -----	369	20	353	319	91.	171	109

*Includes high school pupils.

In conclusion, it is seen that the matter of organizing a graded school was not an easy matter, for the following reasons:

(1) The people had to be educated up to it.

(2) The graded system was more expensive than the ungraded system.

(3) It required a skillful superintendent to make grading worth while.

(4) Grading was not uniform.

Yet the system was begun and well worked out in some places. It was the graded system that paved the way for the success of a more advanced school, which is discussed in the following chapter. This was the high school.

THE HIGH SCHOOL

After the adoption of the graded systems in the town and city schools, the next step was the high school. In some places the latter was organized along with the graded elementary school, so that the two went hand in hand. In other localities the high school had to come later.

The questions naturally arise, why did the people want the high school at that time? What was its function? Did it serve its purpose? The answer to the first question can best be answered by a statement from the report of the board of trustees of the Lafayette public schools in 1856:

"The trustees hope that the public spirit and parental affection of our citizens will ere long demand the establishment of a high school endowed with every faculty for an advanced or collegiate education, so that the children of our city may be kept under the influence of good examples and just restraints of home until prepared to take their parts in the active duties of life. What should be, can be done, and when accomplished no one would desire to return to the old paths."

Had this ambition been realized the high school would have become the "People's College" in reality and not in name only.

For the first few years of its existence the high school course was directed toward the training of teachers. To do this a normal course was instituted and work along that line given, as will be shown later. From this one would judge that the age of the average high school pupil was much higher than today (1912). This was true.

Richmond started her public high school in 1856, amidst embarrassments of every kind, the chief of which was in not knowing just what to do. The high school at that time was composed of young men and women, many of whom had attended academies and colleges previously. The normal class

was composed of fifty-six pupils, many of whom had taught during the summer. These students were taught matters pertaining to practical teaching. The whole enrollment for the high school was 124. This was rather large when compared with Indianapolis for the same year. The latter had a high school enrollment of 98, but their high school system was placed on a firm basis from the very beginning. Hence what it lacked in quantity it made up in quality. The Supreme Court decision of 1857 completely disorganized the Indianapolis high school, which was progressing nicely under Principal W. T. Webster. There being no financial support, Mr. Webster left the State. It was not until 1864, when W. A. Bell, formerly of the second ward grammar school of the city, was elected principal, that this phase of educational work was offered in Indianapolis. Yet Mr. Bell took up the work as systematically as Mr. Webster had left it. The entrance examinations to the high school were made effective, and in so doing the standard of the school was kept up.

It is interesting to note that as early as 1875 some cities were alive to present day situations and tried then to correct the existing evils. For example, in Indianapolis, during that year it was found that less than fifty per cent of those entering high school continued until the third year. To correct this evil a two year course was organized. The purpose was to fit the pupil for future life work as well as they possibly could. This two year course was as follows:

FIRST YEAR: Algebra, Arithmetic (reviewed), English, Geography (reviewed), General History, Free Hand Drawing, Morals, Elocution and Music.

SECOND YEAR: Plane Geometry, Commercial Arithmetic, Physical Geography, Natural Philosophy, General History, Bookkeeping, Mechanical Drawing, Zoology, and lectures on Commercial Law.

Evansville, by 1856, had its high school organized under B. P. Snow, a graduate of Bowdoin college. During the year 1855-1856 fifty-one pupils were admitted into the high school. It had an average attendance of 40. Ten years later (1866) the high school was large in numbers, and the course broad, requiring four years for its completion. The course of study offered at that time included among other subjects, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, surveying, Latin through Cicero's

orations, Greek through the reader, chemistry and mental and moral philosophy. In 1868 Evansville completed a new high school building at a cost of \$45,000. The high schools of this city progressed steadily.

In 1860 Anderson had a high school, organized under I. N. Terwilliger as principal. Mr. Terwilliger was a master of his profession, being especially adapted to the teaching of elocution and mental arithmetic. He had also under his care a promising normal class. This was a sort of a semi-private institution, however, and did not last. It was several years after this before Anderson had a substantial public system.

Madison, from the beginning of 1852, had a good high school, but in trying to be economical as well as educational it starved out its high school work, and by 1857 offered no work above the grammar grade. This, coupled with the "Decision of '57", made a reorganization impossible for several years. All cities suffered the loss of their high schools during this period. They did well to keep a semblance of the grades going. It was not until the early and middle 60's that the high school in general began to take firm root and work on a permanent basis. The following will give an idea of how the school situation was looked upon by the people:

"We are justly proud of our new high school building and are gratified to be able to chronicle this element of advancement in the material interest of our schools. Though Madison has not, within the last few years, moved as vigorously as some other cities in the State, it deserves credit for early vigor. It moved vigorously when it was not so popular to be vigorous. It opened its public school in 1852, immediately after the adoption of the new constitution providing for the present system. Under the able superintendency of Charles Barnes, it, for several years, has stood among the first cities in the State, in point of buildings and general efficiency."

Laporte, in 1867, with a population of 8,000, had developed a high school. That year the city had under construction a \$50,000 high school building, which was one of the finest in the State. To insure a greater degree of success in their schools, all applicants to teach in them were required to pass a special examination independent of the regular State examinations.

Peru, in 1869, had a well organized high school under the

direction of Superintendent D. Eckley Hunter. The important phase of their high school work at that time was the "normal class," whose members were preparing themselves to teach. At that time there were thirteen ladies and four gentlemen taking this work.

Lawrenceburg, in 1869, maintained a high school course which covered a period of three years. At that time there were enrolled in this department 42 boys and 41 girls. Three years later, 1872, four girls and one boy constituted the first class to graduate from this high school. The occasion of their graduation was one of great interest. The same year five young ladies were graduated from the high school of Greensburg. The schools here had been developed under Superintendent C. W. Harvey, to a stage where they compared favorably with the best at that time.

The practice of co-education was not carried out in all the high schools of the State. This caused an added expense, for in such places two separate schools were maintained, one for the boys and another for the girls. Knightstown, although only a small place, had the double system in 1872. The State superintendent in commenting upon the situation at the time, said that it was decidedly "old foggy" and with proper supervision these schools could be brought together with mutual benefit and with half the cost.

New Albany, too, maintained separate high schools for girls and boys. In 1874 there were enrolled in the female high school 110 pupils; in the male high school 76. Seventeen girls and two boys graduated that year. The reason that only two boys graduated was that the junior class was graduated the year before from a three year course. There were 40 girls and 22 boys admitted to the high schools upon examination at the close of the term. The average age of those admitted was $14\frac{1}{2}$ years.

Jeffersonville, the sister city to New Albany, had worked up a good system of schools by 1875. At that time there were twenty-four teachers in its schools, besides the superintendent. There were two German and three colored teachers. There were eight grades below the high school, and a four year course in that. In 1875, sixty-three were enrolled in the high school. Latin and German were required, with Greek elective.

The early high school did much to foster interest and bring the people in touch with the school situation.

Franklin, in 1873, had a high school lecture course for the benefit of the library fund. The following lecturers were engaged: Robert Collyer, H. A. Ford, W. H. Milburn, Mrs. Mary Livermore, Daniel Hough, Hon. William Parsons, Thomas Nast, and E. B. Fairfield. It was a success in every way. Franklin demanded the best of teachers. Out of a corps of nine teachers in their system, four were graduates of the Oswego Normal School, three were graduates of the Indiana State Normal School, and the other two had attended normal schools but had not graduated. This city had one of the best school buildings in the State.

Lawrenceburg, in 1875, had a course of lectures during the term at the rate of two each month. They were very successful. The first three lectures paid for the whole list, ten in number. This insured success to the enterprise and showed what could be done when the proper effort was made. The pupils of this high school during the same year gave a public concert which was quite creditable. Under the direction of Superintendent R. G. Boone, a course of lectures was given at Frankfort in 1876, for the purpose of raising money with which to purchase a reference library for the school. New Castle graduated her first class from high school in 1875. One feature of this school was the completeness of the course of study. Mrs. Lois G. Hufford, the principal, held her pupils to a four year course, with Latin and Greek as electives.

Another feature which existed in the early high school was the training school. It compared very favorably with the "cadet" system employed in some of our cities today (1912).

Logansport had such a system in 1875. At that time Miss Fannie C. Kimber was principal and teacher of methods. Miss Ella Miller was critic teacher. Both were graduates of the Oswego Normal School. Eight pupil teachers were admitted. There were four practice rooms. One-half of the class took methods, while the other half taught under the critic teacher. These pupil teachers received no salary. It was economical for the city as well as advantageous. The amount paid the principal and critic amounted to the same as the salary of the four regular teachers would have been. This allowed them a princi-

pal, in the person of the teacher of methods, without extra compensation.

By 1874, the high schools of several places had assumed a respectful place in the State system. Most of them had begun to graduate classes at this time. The following table may give an idea as to what the schools were doing:

City	Graduates		Number in the High School	Principal	Superintendent
	Male	Female			
Shelbyville ---	1	4	30	T. Harrison,	
New Albany --	2	17	--	C. Jenkins, Asst.	W. A. Boles
Franklin -----	None		62	Mrs. E. W.	
				Thompson	E. W. Thompson
Jeffersonville -	1	5	82		O. H. Smith
Fort Wayne --	2	3	70		J. H. Smart
Greensburg ---	2	9	56		C. W. Harvey
Logansport ---	-	2	--		
Vincennes ----	2	13	110	R. A. Townsend	T. J. Charleton
Lafayette ----	3	5	78		
Terre Haute--	3	6	81		W. H. Wiley
Wabash -----	Total, 6		45		D. W. Thomas
Evansville ---	4	5	93	J. A. Leller	A. M. Gow
Princeton ----	2	4	39		D. E. Hunter
Kokomo -----	None		54		Sheridan Cox
Huntington ---	None		28		
Indianapolis --	2	7	375		
				Mrs. J. G.	
Richmond ----	2	4	69	Holcombe	
Seymour -----	Total, 5		--		

In summing up this chapter, one notices likenesses and differences in the various high schools. Most of them at the close had the four year course. In the early period the training of teachers predominated in practically all these schools. The difference existing was the way in which the schools went about it. Some gave practice work, others merely gave the theory. In the beginning also, several places took almost anyone they could get into their high school, age being the principal entrance requirement. Others, like Indianapolis, had a very strict examination, hence their number of students was below that of Terre Haute and Richmond for several years. Among other interesting facts to be noted is the fullness of the curricula. This had its cause and its effect. The next

chapter on the "Curriculum" will deal with this phase more extensively.

THE CURRICULUM

What shall we teach and how? has always been a question confronting school men from the very beginning of educational institutions. It is a question which school men thought they had solved in the early times. Yet it has changed from year to year with advancing civilization, until the thing which was so fundamental then is only a minor part in the educative process today (1912). As one traces the curriculum in Indiana schools from 1856 up till 1880, he notices this change. The question then arises, what caused such a change? Was it the influence of eastern schools? Was it due to social pressure? Or, was it the development of the teacher?

As far as the early elementary schools were concerned, there is no question but that the subjects taught were influenced by all three of the above. As has been pointed out, many of our early teachers were imported from Ohio, Massachusetts, and elsewhere. They taught what was taught in their States, since they dominated their own systems.

Again, many of the inhabitants of that time (1852-1860) were born and reared in the East. Their ideas were brought with them as to what should be taught their pupils. It was not an uncommon saying in those days for a parent to tell his boy "What was good enough for me is good enough for you."

The three R's—reading, writing, and arithmetic—formed the backbone of the graded systems. Arithmetic was considered the most fundamental subject taught. To be able to "figure" was considered worth much in the early days. Each edition of the *Indiana School Journal* for several years after its foundation in 1856, gave from two to six pages discussing and working out certain problems in this subject. Historically, the next subject which received the most attention from the educators, was spelling. There had been method after method devised for the correct teaching of this subject, but none would work. In 1856 the Phonic method of spelling was brought before the teachers of the State and discussed from all angles. In that year the Indiana State Teachers' Associa-

tion passed a resolution favoring this method and recommended its adoption in the schools of the State. All schools did not adopt it, however, at that time, and it was some years before they did. Muncie, for example, did not consider it before 1864. Strange to say, the teaching of reading did not take any systematic form until a much later date. It was thought, at that time, to be easy to teach, hence no method was needed.

German received more attention at this time than English. Some cities maintained both an English and a German department in their schools. One can readily see that this was due to the early German settlements, the inhabitants of which could not speak any other language. Shelbyville, in 1859, had a German department in her schools, with a native German teacher at the head. Fifty pupils were enrolled in this department. Many in the English department also took German.

Nevertheless the larger schools began to enrich their course of study for the grades. Terre Haute by 1865 gave the following courses below the high school:

(The figures show the number of pupils taking each subject.)	
Orthography (includes high school)	2420
Reading	2349
Mental Arithmetic	1105
Written Arithmetic	813
Penmanship	1059
Geography	945
English Grammar	314
United States History	51
Analysis	38
Vocal Music	2420
German for Children	123
Composition and Declamation	70

With the exception of manual training, one sees a close resemblance between the two last courses above given and those given in the same cities today (1912). It all goes to prove that the elementary phase of education had been fairly well worked out by this time. Mental arithmetic, a few years later, was considered useless and dropped. It was, however, revived, and now holds an important place in the teaching of numbers. The elementary schools of the State varied widely, however. The advantages of the larger cities were lacking in

the smaller, where the grade teaching consisted mainly in the teaching of Reading, Spelling, Writing, Arithmetic, Geography, and United States History.

One finds the high school in the same position, the size of the school determining to a large extent its course of study. As we have seen above, many of the early high schools had what they termed the "normal class." This was influenced as you may see, by social pressure. In Richmond a third of the pupils constituted this normal class. In other cities it has been shown that there were many pursuing this line of work. But there was another phase of the high school curriculum which is of more interest to us still, since it was the beginning of what we term a high school today.

The subjects taught in the normal courses at Richmond were the common branches, viz: Arithmetic, Reading, Spelling, etc., with some of the theories of teaching at that time. Much stress was laid upon Elocution, Writing and Rhetoric. These schools compared favorably with our summer normals found in every locality, before the high school requirement was enacted by the legislature. Much of the training was to prepare the pupil to make a license rather than to increase his professional strength.

The subjects taught in the early high schools were many. There is distinctly an imitation of the eastern schools, copied by the old academies, seminaries, and at last taken over by the public high school. The following list taken from the report of the superintendent of the Fort Wayne schools (1865) will give an idea of what constituted the high school course of study at that time, together with the number of pupils taking each subject:

Number enrolled in high school	-----	74	
Physical Geography	----- 40		
Algebra	----- 33		
		Greek	{ Lessons } ----- 6
			{ Testament } -----
			{ Anabasis } -----
Latin	{ Lessons } -----		
	{ Caesar } -----	Chemistry	----- 6
	{ Virgil } -----	French	----- 4
	{ Cicero } -----	Composition	----- 587 ¹
Philosophy	----- 18	Declamation	----- 1747 ¹
Drawing	----- 16		
German	----- 10		

¹ Includes grade pupils.

A table from the same school the year following adds Rhetoric, Geometry, Trigonometry, and Instrumental Music.

Terre Haute, in 1865, according to her superintendent's report, gave the following for the high school:

Rhetoric	13	General History	9
Algebra	65	French	5
Geometry	3	German	27
Trigonometry	3	Latin	23
Bookkeeping	7	Greek	3
Physiology	14	Normal Class	9
Physical Geography	15		

In 1869, W. A. Bell, principal of the high school at Indianapolis, worked out a course of study, setting forth his reasons for so doing. Mr. Bell said:

"A course of study is not a matter of little consequence. A real advancement, the actual mental growth of the pupil, depends not a little upon the character of his studies and the order of their succession.

The great problems now to be solved by educators are: (1) How does mind grow? What is the natural order of the development of the faculties? (2) What are the studies best adapted to this development and how shall they be presented? The second proposition involves necessarily a course of study. The following course for high schools has been arrived at with difficulty, and it is not entirely satisfactory. It is, however, the result of some years experience, much thought, and close study, and the examination and comparison of the courses of many of the best high schools in the country.

FIRST YEAR

First Term	Second Term	Third Term
(1) Algebra	(1) Same	(1) Same
(2) Latin, German, or the Science of Com- mon Things	(2) Same	(2) Same
(3) Aids to Composi- tion	(3) English Grammar	(3) Same
(4) Reading and Spell- ing	(4) Same	(4) Same

SECOND YEAR

First Term	Second Term	Third Term
(1) Arithmetic	(1) Same	(1) Geometry
(2) Latin, German, or Analysis of English Words	(2) Same	(2) Latin, German, or Bookkeeping
(3) History	(3) Same	(3) Natural History
(4) Reading and Spell- ing	(4) Same	(4) Reading and Spelling

THIRD YEAR

First Term	Second Term	Third Term
(1) Geometry	(1) Trigonometry	(1) English Grammar
(2) Physiology	(2) Same	(2) Latin, German, or Universal History
(3) Latin, German, or Universal History	(3) Same	(3) Botany
(4) Natural Philosophy	(4) Same	(4) Physical Geography

FOURTH YEAR

First Term	Second Term	Third Term
(1) Physical Geography	(1) Astronomy	(1) Moral Philosophy
(2) Botany	(2) Latin, French, or Chemistry	(2) Latin, French, or Geology
(3) Chemistry	(3) Rhetoric	(3) Chemistry
(4) Latin, French, or Constitution of the United States	(4) -----	(4) English Literature

In addition weekly exercises in Composition, Declamations, etc., should be required throughout the entire course.

Evansville, in 1866, had a very extensive course requiring four years for its completion. Among the subjects taught were Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry, Surveying, Latin through Cicero's Orations, Greek through the Reader, Chemistry, and Mental and Moral Arithmetic.

To meet the demands of the times (the social pressure element), Indianapolis in 1875 followed Chicago's plan and adopted a two year course in her high school. This was done because more than fifty per cent quit school before reaching the third year of high school. This course consisted of the following:

FIRST YEAR: Algebra, Arithmetic (reviewed), English, Geography (reviewed), General History, Free Hand Drawing, Morals, Elocution, and Music.

SECOND YEAR: Plane Geometry, Commercial Arithmetic, Physical Geography, Natural Philosophy, General History, Bookkeeping, Mechanical Drawing, Zoology, and lectures on Commercial Law.

Since our early high schools were very much like the eastern schools, one is not surprised to find Greek and Latin, as well as French and German, all in the course of study. All the larger schools—Indianapolis, Fort Wayne, Terre Haute,

Evansville, New Albany—had these. Such schools were the offshoots of the original “classical” institutions of learning. The teaching of science was poorly done in the early schools. As the course of study will show, they tried to give a little of all the sciences instead of one or two in a thorough manner. Notwithstanding this, Evansville and Fort Wayne both had installed in their schools very good apparatus for teaching physics and beginning chemistry. They were exceptions. As the languages took such an important place in the course, English took a lower place. English, at first, was taught by the mechanical method, rather than by any method looking toward appreciation. Moral philosophy was taught at first in the high school, but later was deferred until the pupil had entered a college.

In many ways the early course was a good one, and compared favorably with ours of today. As stated above, the poor teaching of English and the fragmentary presentation of the sciences were a detriment to the early course. While the high schools have always been designated as the “people’s colleges,” the main factor in making up their curricula was not the people. It was pure imitation of the older schools in which university and college requirements dominated the course. Strange to say, the old time-worn paths are still followed today (1912). Schools have tried to meet the needs of the people, as Indianapolis tried it in her two-year course, but soon they found themselves back in the classical atmosphere. Usually those who attended the high school in the earlier period were those who were better off financially than the average elementary school pupil. They were sent to school for one thing. There was but one aim in view. It was culture. This phase of education has always dominated the course of study in the high school.

Summarizing the influences which affected the growth of the curriculum, it is found that the greatest factor was the influence of the eastern schools. Teachers from the eastern section of the country brought to the early schools of Indiana the ideas which they had learned in the East.

Financial conditions of communities conditioned to a large extent what was taught. This was especially true of the high school. As the school grew, the course of study grew. Social

pressure was effective in another way, viz: the determination of certain courses for special purposes. This was shown very well in the case of the two-year course at Indianapolis.

It is very difficult to show just where the influence of the teacher leaves off and that of the community begins. They have always been very closely connected.

PROFESSIONAL TRAINING OF TEACHERS

Another factor which entered into city supervision was the matter of professional training of teachers. The complexity of the graded systems, together with the ever-increasing curriculum, made it necessary that the teacher as well as the supervisor have more than a mere knowledge of the subject-matter. The question during the early period was how and where should this training be given. At that time Indiana possessed no State normal school. But it was at this early period that a need for one was felt, especially by city superintendents. It was during the infancy of Indiana's school system that these school officials began a movement whereby professional instruction might be given those who wished to teach, by means of State aid. Until that time came, when the legislature saw fit to establish such an institution, each corporation had to provide in the best way it could for the training of teachers.

Since many of our early teachers, especially the superintendents, high school principals, and the high school teachers in general, were imported, this problem was partially solved in this respect. Almost all of them had training in the normal schools of Massachusetts, New York and Ohio, the States from which they usually came.

But, as stated above, graded teaching became more difficult. The teacher could no longer systematize her six or eight classes of students as she wished. It was necessary that her work fit in with the work of the teacher a grade above or a grade below her own. It was a question of making a whole out of many, instead of having a whole in itself, as in the case where the single teacher had all grades under her care.

The problems of the graded school presented themselves in great numbers. It was the matter of overcoming these problems with which the trained superintendent had to deal.

Teachers had to be trained some way, somehow. It was, then, with the earliest graded system that the idea of professional training of teachers came. It was at this time that the superintendent took upon himself the duty of training his own teachers. This was conducted in many ways. It was during this period also that memorial after memorial was presented to each succeeding legislature for the establishment of a State institution whereby grade teachers might be trained at the cost of the State; and this pressure upon our law-making body did not cease until the work was accomplished by an act for the establishment of a State Normal School, December 20, 1865. The object of such a school was "the preparation of teachers for teaching in the common schools of Indiana."

As early as 1856 Richmond had established a normal department in her high school, where students were regularly taught matters pertaining to practical teaching. This work was largely done by Superintendent Josiah Hurty. Mr. Hurty was from Ohio, and was one of the originators of the Ohio State Teachers' Association. This fact of training teachers was made more imperative by an order of the school board that none but professionally trained teachers should be engaged in the city schools of Richmond.

Normal training classes were conducted in other cities also, with the same purpose in mind. Terre Haute, Evansville, Indianapolis and other places offered this instruction to those who cared to become teachers. This work was conducted in some cities long after the establishment of a normal school at Terre Haute, and still exists in some cities today (1912).

Taking into consideration the traveling facilities at that time, one can well judge the number who could or would go away from home to take professional work. City superintendents, after they had worked so hard getting an institution established, could not get their teachers to attend it. Teachers were not yet able to cope with the new duties which their far-sighted supervisors had planned for them to do. The fact was plain that the teachers had to be educated up to this standard as well as the citizens to the graded schools.

In 1866 the school trustees of Indianapolis established at

that place a training school for teachers, planned after the Oswego system. This was carried forward for a while and later dropped. In 1871, however, the board of school commissioners directed the superintendent to reorganize the training school for teachers in connection with the public schools of the city. It was a great step in the matter of training better teachers for the schools.

In 1871 the Indianapolis school board also had the superintendent organize a Saturday Teachers' Institute, to be held on each alternate Saturday during the year. The object was to afford teachers all possible facilities to fit themselves for their work, and to assist them in the preparation of obtaining the higher grades of certificates which would be required after that year. The board appropriated \$300.00 to pay competent instructors for this institute work. As early as 1873, Indianapolis had two supervising principals, two lady superintendents of primary schools, a Writing teacher, and a teacher of Elocution, all of whom were directly associated in the training of the grade teachers. To keep the standard high and insure the best possible work from each teacher, the following resolution was adopted this year:

"That those teachers in the public schools who are required to teach Arithmetic, Grammar, Physiology, Geography, and History, together with the higher branches, shall not be permitted to use text-books during recitations in these several branches. The teacher may, however, be allowed to prepare an abstract of the lesson, if desired, to be used during the exercises."

In 1873 E. H. Butler, superintendent of the Lawrenceburg schools, laid out a regular course of study for his teachers at their semi-monthly meetings. It was as follows: "An exhaustive treatise of intellectual science. A course of oral instruction, embracing language lessons, object lessons, natural history and physics." The above was their regular work. They also had to make special preparation for each recitation. In addition they were compelled to formulate lessons on "home geography," including maps of their own city, county and State. Teachers were required to learn and teach the townships in the county; the counties, county seats, etc., in the State. They were also required to learn methods of teaching the common school branches. All this goes to show

the professional work done in the cities themselves. The teachers were really trained after they were in the service.

Logansport, on the other hand, maintained a critic school, both for practice teaching and instruction in the theoretical part of the work. Two competent instructors, graduates of the Oswego Normal School, conducted this work. Here the students were taken out of high school and taught matters pertaining to practical teaching. Eight pupils a year were taken, four teaching and four taking theory. This was a movement ahead of its time.

Some cities did not seem to take the matter of professional training of teachers very seriously. As a rule their schools showed a lack of harmony.

For this reason, Vincennes in 1870 had a very poorly organized system. Three of their teachers at that time were licensed and employed without a legal examination. The school in no way met any requirements or standards set by other schools at that time. Very few of the smaller corporations required any professional training.

Much of this good work was done under the direction of men who had been trained in other States. Superintendent Hurty of Richmond came from Ohio, where he had been engaged in school work. In 1869 Union City secured the services of Professor E. Tucker, formerly of Liber College. Leavenworth, in 1866, secured the services of Mr. Odell from New Hampshire, who conducted a prosperous school at that place. Seymour, the same year, secured Mr. Taylor, from Ohio. Indianapolis had W. T. Webster, of Maine, as principal of her high school in 1858. Aurora in 1870 secured the services of Edward Clark as her superintendent. Mr. Clark came from Ohio, where he had been for several years a successful teacher in the Lebanon Normal School. Evansville secured as her first high school principal B. P. Snow, a graduate of Bowdoin College.

The influence of such men as these was very marked, since they brought into the new system of schools the ideas which had been worked out in older systems of the East.

Another scheme which the early superintendent worked out was the professional skill gained by teachers in visiting good schools. In 1870 Superintendent A. C. Shortridge, of

Indianapolis, with eight or ten of his teachers, visited the St. Louis schools. Six or eight other teachers visited the Cincinnati schools at the same time. In 1872 Superintendent H. H. Boyce did still better by taking all his teachers to Cincinnati for observation, where they spent a week visiting the Cincinnati schools. This same year (1872), Superintendent J. J. Miles, of Wabash, visited the Indianapolis schools with several of his teachers. It was such work as this that inspired many teachers with the desire for more training. Some cities were fortunate in having their teachers attend normal schools. Franklin, for example, had, out of a corps of nine teachers, seven who were graduates of normal schools, and the other two had been in attendance but had not graduated.

From this it is seen that professional training of teachers was not looked upon as something unnecessary. From the earliest period it was deemed a necessity. The transition from the old single-room building to the new many-roomed structure, put the ordinary teacher in a new teaching world. No longer did the single teacher rule over all he surveyed. He was only a part in a machine. The future of the system depended upon how well he fitted into this complex mechanism. New methods were employed, new ideals set forth. It was the one who succeeded in working out these methods and ideals that served as a factor in making the city school system of Indiana a success.

THE CENTRALIZING TENDENCY

Throughout this discussion of the early city schools of Indiana, among the other facts to be taken into consideration is the tendency toward centralized organization. This organization had its beginning in the single building itself. Afterwards, an organization was effected in the city or town by a centralization of power in the hands of a superintendent. The third step was the gradual growth toward centralization of all the city schools into a State unit. It might be well to state here that State organization has never yet been fully worked out (1912).

Taking the early school as an example of the first type, it is seen that organization was fairly well worked out. The

purpose of the school was merely to give a limited knowledge of the three R's. The teacher was the master of the situation in all respects, and depended upon no one for advice as to how the school should or should not be graded. If there was any problem or organization, it was the teacher's problem as an individual.

But the system of gradation came into prominence. With gradation came several teachers in the place of one or two. Instead of being a simple unit, as it formerly was, it now became a complex organization. It was this change to complexity which brought forth new problems to both teachers and patrons. Such towns as Salem, Bedford, Rockport and Anderson were unable to adjust themselves to this new movement, hence graded schools lagged.

With the employment of several teachers in one building, it became necessary for the whole school to be organized into a unit, instead of having each room a unit in itself. It was the situation here which necessitated the introduction of the principal. This official was designated as high school principal, or grade principal, depending upon the grade of work which was given. Here new duties arose. Each teacher was but a part of a highly centralized unit. It was necessary that this individual's work be in harmony with all the other units in the building. It was the principal who was the head of this organization, who kept the work in line. As the towns grew in size, the single building was not sufficient. Expense and distance both became factors of organization, especially the latter. Many cities of the early period attempted to meet the demands of the school population by erecting very large buildings which would serve the whole city. These structures varied in size from fourteen to twenty rooms. Vincennes, Logansport, Valparaiso, Madison and many other cities constructed such buildings in the early '70s, hoping to escape the complexity as well as the expense of running their schools in two or more separate buildings.

The growth of the cities in population and area demanded a change. The single structure no longer sufficed, and buildings had to be located in all parts of the city, to meet the demands of the times.

This change was not made in all cities at the same time.

As early as 1852, Indianapolis had several structures in use, and more being built. Evansville, at the early period of 1856, was conducting her schools in separate buildings, while some of the smaller cities, such as those named above, Logansport, Vincennes, etc., had the single school plant in operation. This condition existed as late as 1880.

The use of several buildings was another step in the tendency toward centralization. Not only was it necessary for one building to be a unit in itself, but it was now essential that each building be an organized part of the whole system. It was not an easy matter for such organization to be brought about. In an earlier chapter it was shown how, in several cities, each building worked along independently of the others. Different text-books were used, different methods of teaching, and, in fact, each individual building was a unit itself.

In Indianapolis we found in 1856 a well-organized system. By 1875 there was a superintendent, two assistant superintendents, three special supervisors, and principals at all buildings. Here the third step toward centralization had been effected nicely. Evansville also had her whole system organized, as did New Albany, Fort Wayne, and Terre Haute.

But there was another factor in centralization which had to be worked out with great care, on account of its great importance to the State as a whole. The matter of unifying the building and the group of buildings was very easy when compared with a State organization. It is well to state that such a centralization has not been worked out satisfactorily to the State school authorities (the State board of education) to this date (1912).

For several reasons State centralization has not been effective in all respects. First, the size of the State, embracing geographical conditions which were vastly different. The rich, level land of the north and central portion was far more valuable than the hilly land of the south. Second, the people of different sections of the State were of different characters, and demanded varied local institutions of different types, schools being among the others. The two foregoing factors, wealth and inherited traits of the people, made State centralization of schools a very difficult problem. Notwithstanding

these barriers, certain attempts were made to get the schools of the State working on some definite plan.

First was the organization of the State Teachers' Association, in 1854. While this covered the rural schools directly, city systems and their teachers were well represented. The methods and ways of teaching were discussed at length. The subject-matter to be taught in the schools was arranged and plans laid for unity in that line.

Perhaps the organization which stood nearest the city school system, and the one which did most to promote unity as far as it was concerned, was the City and Town Superintendents' Association, which was organized at Shelbyville, July 30, 1863. This organization was only the beginning of a permanent organization which was effected at Richmond December 29 of the same year. The following resolution was adopted at Shelbyville:

"Resolved, That for the purpose of discussing from time to time the various subjects connected with the management of city and town schools, and for the further purpose of discussing questions of a scientific and literary character, we make a permanent organization of school superintendents for the State, to meet annually."

In 1873 another organization of the same kind and for the same purpose was organized at Seymour. The organization was known as the Convention of Public School Superintendents of Southern Indiana.

These organizations did much in standardizing certain parts of the school systems. In conjunction with the State Teachers Association, they worked out very definitely a common school course of study. But they each and all failed on the high school proposition. Since these schools were planned and carried on in different towns and cities, for different purposes, it was hard to bring about a compromise as to what should be taught. However, by general imitation, as well as by argument, the course was more definite in 1880 than it was in 1860. The requirements for entrance were practically the same all over the State, and the four-year course prevailed with but few exceptions.

The cities had much in their favor for centralization that the rural districts at that time could not hope to have. The principal factor was the length of term. Where the district

schools varied in length from two and one-half to ten months, the city schools only varied from eight to ten months. The majority had the latter length of term. This made unity all the more possible.

Another factor in State centralization was the State Board of Education. This body, when first organized in 1852, did very little toward organizing the school systems of the State. What little was done mostly concerned the non-urban schools, since the law gave the latter much power as to their own control. Later its power became of great importance.

In conclusion, it is seen that there have been three steps toward centralization, as follows:

- (1) From the ungraded room to the graded building.
- (2) From the single graded building to a number of buildings, all in a single system.
- (3) From the city system to a State centralization of systems.

While it is difficult to pass from one to the other, the matter of unity was well accomplished until State centralization was attempted. The latter has only met with partial success, and its problems remain for the future educators of the State to solve.

Social Effects of the Monon Railway in Indiana

BY DR. JOHN POUCHER, Orleans, Indiana

This treatise is undertaken to portray some of the component factors in our social life, to indicate what part thoroughfares like the river, canals and the old-fashioned "pike" as well as railroads take in molding the domestic, economic and civic affairs of the people. The Monon railway is chosen as an example because for many years it was the longest stretch of line under one management in the State of Indiana. It largely determined the direction taken by a broad stream of emigration, and in traversing the State from south to north contributed in a marked degree to the commingling of the diverse elements of people arriving from the South and East. Other roads followed routes where the citizens were likely to be more nearly homogeneous in their antecedents. The Monon has been a good mixing machine.

This, one of the earliest ironways constructed in the State, was first known as the New Albany and Salem Railroad, designed ultimately to connect Louisville and Chicago. At the time when the work was begun waterways were the chief and most important means of general communication in the United States, and Louisville figured about as prominently as Chicago, which has since become our interior metropolis. The Ohio river, then and always destined to be one of the principal arteries of commerce, was the main channel from the northeast section of the country to the dominant South. Population, with Louisville as one of the gateways, was moving in a northwesterly direction from the Carolinas, East Tennessee, Georgia and Kentucky. Indiana has always contained a relatively large element of population from the Southern States, visibly affecting the political complexion of its citizenship, quite noticeably in Washington, Putnam and Montgomery counties, with a decisive bearing on national policies. A very considerable contribution of intelligent and thrifty people came down the river from Virginia, Maryland and the farther East, taking passage on the steamboats at Pittsburgh and

stopping at the Falls, where they were met by alien and native emigrants at what was then an insurmountable barrier in navigation. In the intermingling a vigorous, intellectual and warm-hearted race has been produced which has figured enviously in the social life of the whole country.

While the Monon railway has become an important factor in the development of the region through which it passes, it encountered many embarrassments in management, and did not at first offer the means of rapid and convenient travel toward the coming emporium on Lake Michigan. The trip could not be completed in one day. Patrons stayed overnight at Lafayette. The projectors of the enterprise were seemingly influenced in selecting their routes by the promise of ease and cheapness in construction. Saving of time for running gear was apparently a secondary consideration. The lengthening of the line served the same purpose which nature accomplishes in its winding streams, which increase the territory that reaps special benefits from the thoroughfare. The steam-grader was not then in use. It was no easy matter to make a fill or blast through hard, unyielding rock to overcome precipitous ascents or bridge wide or capricious streams.

When the east fork of White river was reached four or five miles south of Bedford the trains could go no further, and some of the State maps of that date marked the line as the "New Albany and Juliet Railroad." A wooden bridge built by Thomas Grant, an Englishman, later of Evansville, after much delay spanned the river, and the extension continued until in 1852 the road was completed between New Albany and Michigan City, a junction deviating considerably from a direct line but connecting with the Michigan Central for the desired terminus. The event was celebrated at New Albany with a famous Fourth of July barbecue, then a very popular festivity, at which Governors Joseph A. Wright of Indiana and Lazarus W. Powell of Kentucky were speakers. Lafayette was practically the most important station at the north end of the route. Here trains were reversed. The time schedule was arranged for daylight service. Strap iron spiked on wooden beams laid longitudinally across the ties constituted the first tracks, and later the "T" rail was substituted without angle-couplers, occasioning a peculiar thud-

ding sound as the wheels passed over the joints. An attempt was afterward made to remedy the jar by bolting pieces of timber about three feet long on the outside of the rails. Travelers accepted the meager conveniences whereby they might reach a distant place with so little expenditure of muscular energy. Time was not a very important consideration with a class leisurely by antecedents and unoppressed with nervous ambition to secure food so abundantly supplied from the forests and clearings, or to meet the social demands, which were simple and inexpensive.

The scenery was romantic and suggestive. Trains skirted along at the foot of The Knobs until they arrived at New Providence—now called Borden—eighteen miles from New Albany. Here speed was somewhat checked until the long steep grade could be surmounted, leading in devious lines aside the watercourses, passing through cuts of very hard limestone and sweeping unaccountably along low swags. The road for private vehicles between Pekin and Salem is three or four miles shorter than the iron route. The mention of Pekin gives occasion to call attention to the concurrent naming of contiguous villages in that section of Washington county for large cities—Pekin, Canton, South Boston, New Philadelphia and Little York. A great horseshoe bend formed apparently with little cause is one of the picturesque features of the railroad three miles north of Bedford. It is related that as late as 1868 a man alighted from the southbound train at Salem, went north two blocks to the "public square," engaged in an altercation in which he killed his antagonist, loosed one of the horses tied at the courthouse hitchrack, and rode to Harristown, now Norris, arriving there before the train, which stopped on the road to take wood for fuel, and reboarding the cars, he disappeared and escaped from justice. An amusing anecdote is also told concerning one of the officers of the company while on a tour of inspection that, when he was asked what he thought of the road, he said he saw one straight stretch where a curve might have been made. Such jests in regard to any public utility are quite common, though the perpetrators are often among its best friends.

Evidently the projectors aimed to reach as many points of local importance as possible for feeders to the line on its

way to the principal marts. As a result of this survey there are many way stations that owe an incalculable debt in their prosperity. While the course of the route is generally northward, it leads through Salem and Campbellsburg almost due west, and fresh-comers are usually much confused in fixing the points of the compass in those towns. Trains from the south come from a northeasterly direction to Orleans, an important station now the junction for the branch to the West Baden and French Lick country. The spur that reaches the famous watering resorts, and forms prorating connections with the Southern Railway was constructed about 1887. It is laid over the "dry bed" of Lost river, and before touching the terminus it skirts the banks of that queer stream that emerges from the earth at the hamlet of Orangeville. This territory for eighteen miles is fraught with much historic interest, and owes greatly to the railroad for its progressive spirit as well as adventitious prosperity.

Though the stock invested for construction brought no dividends, these investments after seventy years have brought abundant return to the public at large in the increased assets of the community. The patronizing zone was very slow in coming to its own. Wild blackberries was an appreciable item of shipment as late as the seventies. Now the strawberry crop employs growers as far as twenty miles from the road. The renowned oolitic stone did not begin to move for several years. The writer remembers when the sole freight service for a day would consist of an engine, caboose and one car. The management in those days was often incompetent and invariably provincial. No field had yet been discovered for railroad magnates or experts; at least they did not feel invited here, though James Brooks, the first president, was a noble man and highly influential citizen with whom modern officials can scarcely vie in capacity for civic service. John B. Anderson, the first general superintendent, was afterwards president of a fashionable college for young women. Once on a train that had stopped for water where a blind man with bucksaw was cutting cordwood for the company a person remarked to the roadmaster, who was in the caboose, "That is a strange way of doing." The officer replied, "Poor folks have poor ways." Some years later I recognized the

same roadmaster so far reduced in circumstances as with hoe in hand to be cleaning the streets of a nearby city. The merging of the line with connecting links at Chicago, Louisville and Indianapolis may have swollen the dividends, in fact became a necessity, but gone forever is the sense of a residential partnership in the possession and management of the road. New Albany, the original starting point, especially, was in a state of pathetic mourning when the words "New Albany" were dropped from the monogram title. The overshadowing of the terminal cities was inevitable.

Facilities in travel were few and limited. Often the morning train out from New Albany had to wait for the bus that brought the passengers on an uncertain ferry boat schedule from Louisville, five miles away, and its arrival was signal for some extra scurrying on the platforms. There was little catering to the whims of appetite, though one peanut boy is now a large capitalist in Indianapolis. Passengers never dreamed of chair or sleeping coaches, and very few of the patrons could have afforded the luxury. Just after the memorable cold New Year of 1864 the writer had occasion to travel from New Albany to Greencastle, a distance of one hundred and forty miles. He boarded the train at 2:20 p. m. on Monday and alighted at Greencastle at 5:25 a. m. on Wednesday. A truck under one of the coaches flew the track in Salt Creek Bottoms at 8 o'clock Tuesday morning, and by the methods then employed could not be replaced until after dark. Trainmen and passengers alike had to shift for themselves in getting food or drink, but all took it without complaint. People off as well as on the road were used to discomforts now regarded as unbearable.

Officers in those times were on terms of familiar intercourse with patrons. The employees wore no uniforms, nothing to distinguish them except the title of their several positions laid over the hatband. Conductors were allowed great latitude of discretion in the transaction of business, and they were nearly always agreeable and accommodating. A company of hilarious Methodist preachers were on their way to annual conference. Among them was a dark-skinned wag with sunken eyes, of whom the conductor asked his fare, oftener purchased on the train than by ticket. Clergymen's

certificates for reduced rates were not then considered necessary. The passenger asked, "How much?" with an answer calling for the regular fare. "But," said he, "you charge me more than the other fellows; I am a preacher, too." "You, a preacher!" said the conductor; "you don't look like one." Determined to have a little fun, the minister parried payment until the conductor left him to attend to one of their frequent stoppings. On returning the officer again solicited the passenger, who in apparent amazement, said, "Are you the conductor?" "Yes, sir," was the reply. "You the conductor! You don't look like one." To which he good-naturedly rejoined, "Oh, go along!" and he charged no pay at all in return for the joke. Conductors had to be men of courage and ready presence of mind in those days. One of these, Thomas Hanlon, though palsied in one arm, was invariably master of the situation, and after a long, sensational and successful career beginning in 1854, still lives, and is now in the United States government employ in Washington at nearly four-score. William F. Sears, a far-advanced octogenarian, highly respected and now residing at Orleans, served as baggage-master when the road reached no farther than Bedford. A round trip was made daily.

Much of the passenger traffic being local and the trains moving slowly with frequent and protracted stops, opportunity was afforded for friendly conversation in the cars. There was little reserve of intercourse among the travelers, even with strangers. No one hesitated to address himself to his neighbor on any subject. Talk took a wide range on theological questions, politics, the markets, local occurrences, etc. A considerable sensation would be produced in the coach, seldom crowded, by the advent of some distinguished civil officer, or of a college dignitary at Bloomington, Greencastle, or Crawfordsville. The presidents of the college institutions enjoyed the courtesy of a free pass. Much valuable information and culture would be gained in the interviewing of intelligent citizens when newspapers were comparatively scarce, high-priced, and restricted in their news columns. A scene of thrilling interest included the crowds that gathered each day at the depot in Bloomington, students in great number, though a catalogue rule actually forbade the same class at

Greencastle, farmers for miles away, freeholders and common loafers, it would seem as if the whole region had turned out just to see the train and its passengers and one another, the chief event of the day. Though the platform alongside of which the cars stopped was elevated and narrow, very few accidents occurred.

The rough and ready folks of that period were expected to take care of themselves, though not without instructions. On the green oilcloth lining of the car walls between all the windows was stencil-stamped a long list of warnings against putting head, arm or limbs out of opened windows, or changing coaches, a very risky proceeding, while the train was in motion. On account of numerous obstacles on the unfenced track, cattle, pigs, horses, landslides, fallen trees, there was constant peril for life or limb with few suits for damages. Professor Miles J. Fletcher, on the way to the Shiloh battlefield in 1862, riding in the same seat with Governor Morton on an Evansville and Terre Haute train which was suddenly jolted at Sullivan, lost his life by putting his head out of a window to see what was the matter, being struck by a freight car which lifted the crown off his skull.

Large sums of money were used in the erection of depots designed to be depots indeed, for the sidetrack generally led right through the middle of the house, where it had been expected great lots of freight would be stored for considerable time. These were expensive brick structures which it was soon found were wholly unnecessary.¹ When one would be destroyed a smaller and more suitable building would be erected.

While patronage in those times was not so extensive as on some other thoroughfares, especially those lying in an east and west direction, the old road became a very influential agency in connection with the sociological development of the country. At almost every little station there was located some private educational institution, like that of the Mays at Salem. Three of the chief colleges in the State were seated at points now become more accessible by the building of the road—Indiana University (State), Indiana Asbury University

¹ Several of these old depots are still standing, notably at Gosport, Orleans, etc.—ED.

(Methodist), and Wabash College (Presbyterian). Doubtless more college students have taken passage on the Monon than on any other route in Indiana. Dr. Cyrus Nutt, afterwards president of Indiana University, in his autobiographical sketch relates how in 1837, when he became the first preceptor at Greencastle, he rode part of the way on a hay wagon from Putnamville, reached by a National Road stage, and walked the rest of the distance. In the more modern period Purdue University was established at Lafayette, also Borden Institute, the Southern Indiana Normal College at Mitchell, Bedford Male and Female College, Ladoga Academy, and no doubt several others. Occasion has been taken for the sportive remark that though there are five colleges on the line, it leads to the State Reformatory at one end and to the State Prison at the other.

A palpable effect of the railroad's contribution to civilization is shown in the distinctive character of the population collected on either side of the route. Their ancestors were emigrants from the Southern States, a region on account of slavery and local situation somewhat behind the times. The people were slow in discovering themselves. To the sprightly Yankee who must move briskly in a more frigid climate, the backwoods Hoosier was a common butt of ridicule from which the native was inclined rather sullenly to withdraw himself, and thus to fall still further in the rear. He was not yet conscious of his inherent powers. His parents had not concerned themselves about their Scotch-Irish ancestry, were not aware that it was worth mentioning. Pride of pedigree was rather discountenanced, as is likely in every newly settled country. It was mistakenly supposed that we in America must do nothing to pamper a blood aristocracy, though now beginning to be recognized in scientific eugenics. The railroad introduced teachers who cultivated the innate faculties of ingenuous fellows from whom have developed so many preachers, statesmen, orators, pedagogues and financial magnates who have astonished the inhabitants of other regions possessed of greater natural advantages.

Another social effect of the Monon is evident in the theological bias of the population. Simultaneous with the phenomenal growth of the Church of the Disciples under Alexander

Campbell and like-minded spirits in West Virginia and Kentucky, the railway made a wide and long scope of territory accessible in which this denomination of Christians is unusually thrifty and strong. The Baptists from Georgia and Tennessee continue to be well represented in their descendants. While Methodists are numerous all along the line, and predominated, according to Mr. Hanlon, in employee service, their relative prosperity, like that of some other church organizations, is due chiefly to causes inherent in themselves.

The modernizing of railway management which took place about the time when this company extended its valuable branch line to Indianapolis and the busy spur to West Baden and French Lick has also affected the contributory regions both in the make-up of its inhabitants and their character, customs and tastes. The oolitic stone quarries extending along the tracks for thirty-five miles have called the world's attention to this section. Immense capital has been invested, requiring a prodigious number of laborers, skilled and unskilled, being worth much more to the country than mines of the precious metals that employ no further labor when the original product is obtained. While palatial car service may not remunerate the management, it has attracted well-to-do travelers, of whom some have seen enough to induce them to settle there, and a new atmosphere has been created, especially at the junctions or other more frequent stopping points. Exterior initiative, combined with indigenous potentiality, has tended to effect a new social order, a steady and reliable progress in genuine and desirable civilization. The advance is recognized with much satisfaction by those who, knowing the country sixty-five years ago, take broad views of community welfare.

The following letter from Mr. Hanlon to Dr. Poucher is worth preserving in this connection:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON, D. C., July 21, 1916.

I have received your letter of July 17, which I appreciate very much, asking for information of what I know and remember of myself and other friends connected with the New Albany and Salem Railroad. I remember well when the New Albany and Salem Railroad was controlled and managed by the employees and a large majority of them members of that (Methodist) church.

John R. Daniels was agent at New Albany; Col. McCray, division

superintendent from Bloomington to Lafayette; William Foster, from Lafayette to Michigan City; John B. Anderson was the first superintendent and general manager of the whole line from New Albany to Michigan City. The agent at Providence was a man by the name of Shaw. John McKinney superseded him in those days as agent and was a Methodist (Error, I think—J. P.). At Harristown a man by the name of Norris was agent, and a Methodist, and I believe his daughter is still agent there. At Salem John Parker was agent; at Campbellsburg a man by the name of Brown; at Lancaster a man by the name of Henry Monahan was agent; at Orleans a man by the name of Walker was agent and John D. Carter took his place. At Mitchell a man by the name of Captain Budd was agent when he went into the army, and a man by the name of Humston took his place. At Bedford a man by the name of Peter Vestal was agent; at Bloomington a man by the name of Carter; at Gosport a man by the name of Johns who was murdered in the ticket office; at Quincy, Arnold; at Greencastle a man by the name of Arp was agent. I give you this list, and could give you the names of all the engines and those that manufactured them.

Tom Burch, an old Englishman, was for fifty years in the baggage room in New Albany, a member of your church and everybody knew him. John Donaldson ran the old "New Albany", an Englishman. Mr. Bennett, the father of Rev. Bennett, who is now pastor of the DePauw church at New Albany, was the head blacksmith. Tom Lanahan was the boss carpenter and repairer in the car department.

W. W. Wellman was one of the old conductors, born and raised in Orange county. He married J. K. Woodward's daughter in New Albany. Abe Haynes was one of the old conductors, Sam Boruff another. E. W. Blunk, Charlie Maynard and Blain Marshall were the old line conductors who had charge of passenger trains in those days. Marshall went south and was superintendent of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad during the war.

Now as to myself: I started on the New Albany and Salem Road carrying water on a gravel train for three summers, washing out coaches and cleaning windows in the winter months in the Lafayette yards. From there I was promoted to a peanut boy on Mr. Compton's train from New Albany to Lafayette. His son is now the general manager of the Louisville and Nashville system south of the Ohio river, and it contains nine thousand miles of railroad. From being a peanut boy they gave me a job as brakeman on a freight train which I held for four years; from there on to the Mitchell night train, and was promoted from there to conduct the same train on which I had many ups and downs.

Oh, those were days!

Travel just after the war was mild only in spots and in between the conductor had something besides fares and stations to attract his attention. Between New Albany and Michigan City, Ind., there are points still on the map that rise to memory dear and painful. But fast followed the days marked only by schedule risks of life on the rail, and my bones grew back in original grooves. A bunch of drummers that beat me up at Ladoga subsequently sent me a leather medal with a box of cigars tied to it, and a

baseball crowd that tried to break car windows with me at Crawfordsville elected me an honorary umpire of the Athens league. They declared that my 'responding' powers were too highly cultivated to be wasted. But I buried the coupling pin along in '83 and kept the brakeman in training.

At those times soldiers lay around the depots awaiting to go to the army or coming back. All depots had convenient saloons, and will say at Orleans without exception one at one end of the platform.

I was promoted to the day train No. 3 and 4 between New Albany and Lafayette, and this I held until I was elected auditor of Floyd county, and then at the request of the company I ran it three months in the winter and at the same time was auditor of the county. I served sixteen years and two months as auditor of that county, was appointed by Cleveland collector of internal revenue, was elected to the legislature, and was chairman of the Railroad Committee. I have been elected twice as delegate to the National (Democratic) Convention, and have served two terms as chairman of the district committee and four for the county. I am here now at Washington as doorkeeper of the Members' Families' gallery. I always had a great aspiration to go up, and I certainly did go as far as my education would permit me to go. It was my great fortune to land right under the dome of the Capitol, my office being located there.

Bishop Bowman (then President of Asbury, now Depauw, University) I will ever remember as being my best adviser when young. I love his memory today, and when he went down to the Five-Mile Lane (below New Albany) and dedicated Embury church, I made a little talk to those old farmers and said it was a shame we could not dedicate that church. I surprised them all by giving fifty dollars because I was a guest of Bishop Bowman. I remember the old presiding elder days, and it would take them two days to come from French Lick when they came in frozen and muddy through a week or two weeks' hard labor attending to their ministerial work, such as your father (Error; Perhaps Talbott—J. P.), Welker and Kiger. Those were days when they had to labor in the performance of the duty they were called to.

In the days of your going to school at Greencastle the conductors were John Bently, Dan Bonsall, Billy Garrett, Tom Hanlon, Henry Williams, and Andy McIntosh, who married DePauw's daughter. James Brooks was president of the old New Albany road. There is a stone a mile and a half south of Smithville, it lies on the left hand side of the track. It was blown out there by Brook's management on placing sixteen kegs of powder. In those days if anything happened in the Smithville hill, the boys would refer it to the distance from Brook's monument. Lots of accidents and deaths which I could state to you happened on the line of this road that I know of and they would make an interesting book.

Your friend,

THOMAS HANLON.

Catholic Education in Indiana; Past and Present

BY MRS. ELIZABETH DENEHIE, Terre Haute

From the earliest beginnings the Catholics have maintained that education and religion must go hand in hand; that morality is best taught when based on religion, and finally that education cannot be severed from religion without an intrinsic loss to the former.

All students are wont to quote Spenser, who defines education as the "preparation for complete living." If we accept this definition, which is very praiseworthy, shall we not say then that the Catholics are building their system of education on a firm foundation? Who will deny that "complete living" necessitates a thorough knowledge of religion, ethics and morality, as well as the purely secular training offered in our public schools?

Because of this Catholic idea of education, it seems but logical that we first turn our attention to the work of the Catholic missionaries as an educational force in Indiana. The first invaders of a new country are generally hunters, traders and missionaries, and this of course is true of the country that came in time to be Indiana. When we think of Indiana as still a component part of that splendid stretch of country called the Northwest Territory, we can get our first glimpse of the Catholics at work as the pioneers in education in Indiana. The country adjacent to the Great Lakes and Canada is still rich in cherished memories of a great work done by Jesuit priests, who early traversed the paths that were to open the gateway to civilization in the Hoosier State.

These priests from across the sea, from homes of refinement and culture, renouncing all earthly ties of affection and duty, and entering into this unknown land upon a field of spiritual work, lived lowly lives in close communion with their swarthy flocks, which were scattered over a wide expanse of territory. They associated intimately with them, and hence could help them in various ways.

Perhaps we have a vague notion that these Jesuits came, talked religion, built churches here and there, but accomplished nothing of real value to us living here now. However, this idea must be rectified, for is it not a lasting honor to any man or woman who has the courage of his convictions to take the initiative in any great work that will raise humanity to a higher plane? These missionaries were not seeking man-made glory, nor ascendancy of power, nor material wealth; they followed the dictates of their consciences and became the means by which this new country was opened and made more habitable and promising to those less fearless than themselves.

We must keep in mind that the Jesuits, as our priests today, must engage in and complete a systematic course of college as well as theologic training. Between 1611 and 1791 there came three hundred and twenty of these Jesuits, who taught many of the people who were the forbears of much of Indiana's population today, and we will give them the credit for having done a good work.

At this juncture in the story, it seems well to mention that in the Treaty of 1763, when France ceded to England all the territory east of the Mississippi as well as Canada, she inserted a provision bearing on the religious rights of the people. The proviso was that all Roman Catholics might continue in the worship of that church without being molested.

Bearing more directly upon the history of Indiana was the work of Father Pierre Gibault. It was he who, in 1778, enthused the people of Vincennes, Indiana, to take the oath of allegiance to the government of the United States. He actually administered the oath himself to these French followers of his faith, in the rude little church of St. Xavier's in that village. Father Gibault had paved the way for the Americans by teaching to the people of his missions the issues and their significance, which caused the war between England and America. In his kind but masterful way he was able to present this subject of democracy, its aims and hopes, to his people so that he induced them to declare for the United States as against England. Without education on his own part and an ability to dispense it to his followers, there might have been a different story to tell about Indiana. Father

Gibault worked in harmony with George Rogers Clark, and indeed shares the honors for having accomplished the conquest of the Northwest Territory. The late Hon. William H. English of Indianapolis in his history says, "During the long period between Father Gibault's arrival in the Illinois Country and the capture of Kaskaskia, he was a leading character in everything pertaining to the spiritual, social, educational and material prosperity of the ancient French villages."

History records that the first known regular school in the State of Indiana was that of the Catholic priests, Father Rivet, at Vincennes in 1793.

Alongside that honor belongs the credit to the Catholics of inaugurating and establishing free school education in Indiana, the first free school in the State being that of the Right Reverend William G. Bruté, the first bishop of the old Diocese of Vincennes, in 1834. Among the most discouraging surroundings and also against the expressed judgment of his non-Catholic neighbors and acquaintances, besides the remonstrance of his own flock, he practically gave rise to the system by making, in 1834, the schools which he had just established at Vincennes free to all, whether Catholic or non-Catholic, without any reservation whatsoever. This start for free education, it must be remembered, was made twenty years before the present system of free public schools was established in Indiana.

There is an erroneous opinion among some people that about all the parochial schools teach is religion. This belief also needs to have a little light shine upon it. Always, as today, the Catholic parochial schools have interwoven religious and secular training; but Catholics are not opposed to universal education, or to taxation for schools, or to compulsory education. Neither do they oppose any methods or contrivances of whatever kind which may assist in the diffusion of knowledge to the masses. But parochial schools do insist, moreover, that a knowledge of religion is the primal and most essential element of true human culture.

For the most part the regular work in our Indiana parochial schools begins at 8:30 in the morning, when one regular period is given over to catechism instruction. Once or twice a week the time of another recitation unit is given over

to Bible history. These are about the only directly religious subjects taught in our parochial schools. However, in some of the grades, more frequently in the lower, when the mind is in its best stage of plasticity, Catholic readers and some other distinctively Catholic text-books are used. For the remaining grades many of the text-books are those approved by the State and hence do not differ from those of the public school.

At present there are in the State of Indiana two hundred nineteen parochial schools presided over by about thirty-eight hundred teachers.

All Catholics must pay double taxation for the maintenance of schools because for the greater part all parochial schools are kept up by tuition paid by the parents to the head of the school. Wherever a parish is able, there are schools maintained by a special fund, and such schools are free. Frequently it happens that a wealthy individual dies and leaves an endowment to maintain free Catholic schools. But generally speaking, Catholics are required to pay taxes into the public school fund as well as to maintain their own schools.

While this work is a hardship on some, still the Catholics are alive to the needs of their children and bear the burden as graciously as possible. In Catholic parochial schools the tuition is ordinarily fifty cents per month. In cases of people too poor to meet this obligation arrangements are made with the pastor to remit even this small amount.

A rather remarkable state of affairs prevails at Jasper, Indiana. In this little town of some four or five thousand inhabitants all are Catholics save about four hundred. Here all schools are presided over by Catholic sisters, but State text-books are used by the pupils the same as in public schools. For the Catholic pupils instruction in catechism is given from 8:30 to 9 a. m. The small minority of Protestants do not have to come until 9 o'clock, at which hour regular school work begins. These sisters take the regular State examination and receive their salaries from the public school fund. I am told that this arrangement in Jasper is quite harmonious and agreeable to everybody.

While we do not hear of the Catholic teachers taking the teachers' examination on the last Saturdays of the month,

nevertheless they attend a school and take a normal course of three years, and many complete college courses before teaching in the parochial schools. They then must pass a satisfactory examination before receiving their appointments. Every Catholic sister in the school is constantly urged to fit herself to teach the higher grades, and so they are not allowed to get into that blissful stage of a "finished education." Promotions come with the capabilities displayed by the sisters. When we consider for a moment that the majority of the Catholic high schools are now commissioned and certificates from the eighth grades accepted without entrance examination, we must concede the fact that parochial schools are doing a high standard of work. All over the State of Indiana parochial schools are working towards standardization and are endeavoring to keep up with the best that is offered in education. Many of these schools have introduced courses in domestic science and manual training wherever funds permit, but of course these courses are more or less limited by finances.

The parochial school system is diocesan in its organization. The supreme educational authority is the bishop, who administers and governs the schools of his diocese through the assistance of a school board. The immediate authority is vested in the pastor, whose task it is to provide a building, salaries, teachers, etc. The principal of the school is usually appointed by the religious community to which she belongs. There is a strong tendency and much has already been done towards unifying and systematizing our parochial schools. During the summer different institutes are held similar to public school normal sessions, only lasting a shorter time, usually about six weeks. Our local sisters attend St. Mary's of the Woods to avail themselves of this summer training. In 1911 the Sisters' College, under the auspices of the Catholic University of America, was opened in Washington, D. C., and there Catholic sisters may attend courses in professional training.

The sisters in the parochial schools do not mingle with the world in a large sense, but rather isolate themselves, keeping in mind the training of the children entrusted to their care and little else. They have no ties calling for the expend-

iture of time outside of their religious and professional worlds and hence can indulge in careful, quiet, thoughtful study, which is indeed a fruitful field for the teacher who would succeed.

The salaries of parochial teachers range from about two hundred to three hundred dollars per year, this being about one-half the amount paid to public school teachers for the same grades. Catholic sisters are far removed from entering the profession for utilitarian purposes. Other fields are open to them, but they choose teaching because it appeals to them as conducive to the greatest good to the greatest number. The teachers are Catholic nuns in all parochial schools, except perhaps in some outlying country districts where it is preferable to have a man instructor.

Not only did the Catholics blaze the way for education in the State of Indiana, but they have also remained at their post, pursuing higher education as well. As evidence of their earnestness in this field, Indiana now has twenty-four Catholic colleges and academies, all in good financial standing as well as being accredited with the colleges maintained by the State.

As types of Catholic schools for higher education, I will recount briefly the history of four of these. Our attention is first drawn to St. Mary's of the Woods, for this is the pioneer conventual school, established in Indiana in 1840. On October 22, 1840, six sisters belonging to the Order of Providence arrived from Ruille Sur Loir, France, to begin a great task.

Primarily, they purposed to teach their students right conduct, and to teach them culture and the value of æstheticism through the medium of art, languages and literature. Music and philosophy were also to aid in the process of developing refinement and all the fine ideals that the world regards as more purely womanly. The sisters thought and proposed to inculcate their ideas in the minds of their students by constant vigilance, and by zealously guarding them against any influences that might hinder such development. By their companionship with the girls and by emphasizing always the highest ideals of womanhood, they sought so to mold their characters that they would possess minds well equipped to enter

and influence human society and institutional life. Later in the history of St. Mary's of the Woods science and other branches were added to the curriculum, to meet the ever-growing demand of a well-rounded education.

The illustrious but unassuming leader of the six who first came to St. Mary's of the Woods was Mother Theresa Guerin, widely celebrated for her beneficent and religious activities. Today at St. Mary's are the highly prized gold medals Mother Guerin earned at the French Academy in Paris. These had been given her with the plaudits of the court and religious authorities.

To be able to image clearly the conditions encountered by Mother Guerin upon her arrival, I quote her words:

"Suddenly we stopped in the midst of a dense forest. It was growing dark. Father Beteux briefly announced that we had arrived. We were perfectly silent; the gravity of the moment excluded any loquacity. Imagine our astonishment upon finding ourselves still in the midst of the forest, no village, not even a house in sight. Walking a short distance down the hill, we beheld through the trees on the other side of the ravine a log house with a shed in the rear. 'There' said the good priest, 'is the farm house, where the postulants awaiting you have a room in which you may lodge until your house is completed.'"¹

To many people the Catholic nuns are a quiet, shy, retiring set of women with no interest outside a narrow little sphere; but such notable examples as the saintly Mother Guerin and her little band prove the depth of character, the nobility of a fearless life and a sustaining courage not usually accredited to womankind.

The great advocates of woman suffrage are unearthing all the examples of heroines who have influenced the world's history. Frequently we hear of the women who have been factors in the reformation of slum and tenement districts, or of workers on the child labor question and many other momentous questions. These ideals are all praiseworthy, but it were well not to forget the grandeur of the work, exemplified in Mother Guerin, who, modestly and unnoticed by the world, has established a monument that will be handed down to posterity as a means for great good to a vast number of people.

Arriving October 22, 1840, Mother Guerin found three or

¹ Life of Mother Guerin-Beteux.

four little log huts scattered among the woods, one of which was used as a chapel. A short distance farther were the half-finished walls of what was to be St. Mary's Academy. At last they were domiciled in Indiana, a place they had come far to find. At once they went to work to learn the language of their newly adopted country. They also rolled logs and assisted in the clearing of one hundred thirteen acres that the bishop had bought to be the site of the school. Despite most delicate health, Mother Guerin was the life and soul of every endeavor, keeping up the spirit of these exiles and directing their hopes to the future. Growth was slow, but four months after their arrival sixteen persons had assumed the training of postulants in their religious life. In short trips to Louisville and Cincinnati, Mother Guerin took occasion to visit schools and consult with the missionaries in regard to the best manner of conducting her work. She had taught seventeen years as superior in one of the largest establishments in France before coming over.

In 1841, a year after her arrival, Sister Guerin was ready to open a boarding school in their now finished six-room brick school. Displaying her absolute faith in the Maker, she said: "We must make a beginning and trust to Providence. If it is God's work it will not fail." On July the fourth the first pupil presented herself, and on the next day four more came. At last the new work was launched—an American school opened for American girls, with classes both in French and English. From the very inception of St. Mary's Institute, as it was then called, the higher education of women was its prime object. In 1846 the charter granted by the Indiana legislature empowered the sisters to confer degrees when time and progress would authorize it. Mother Guerin was not satisfied to conduct a boarding school only, but was indeed blessed with the capacity of vision. Her great desire to extend her good work in Indiana materialized in a number of missions scattered throughout the State and all were under her supervision.

In 1889 St. Mary's of the Woods was visited by a very disastrous fire, which caused about \$18,000 damage. Much of it, however, was covered by insurance. The fire came when

the men who worked about the school were two miles distant cutting ice, so the work of fighting the fire devolved upon the sisters and pupils. A message to Terre Haute resulted in the dispatch of eight hundred feet of hose. This arrived at St. Mary's over the old wagon road, consuming about three-quarters of an hour. Through many vicissitudes and trials, St. Mary's of the Woods has risen from the most meager beginning to one of the finest and most up-to-date academies and colleges in the United States. The whole keynote of this marvelous growth is found in one of Mother Guerin's maxims, I think. She said, "Let us make no account of our personal feelings except to sacrifice them." This was what she did in very truth.

From the time of alighting from the train and going up to the entrance of the college one has ample time to think about the vastness of the undertaking of the founder of St. Mary's of the Woods. The approach to the college as it now stands is a very long driveway, perhaps equal in length to several city blocks. There, away from all noise, sequestered among sturdy old trees of early Indiana history the magnificent buildings, stands the work of the good Sisters of Providence. During the last twenty-five years the institution has shown remarkable growth. From a poor frame building St. Mary's of the Woods has expanded to an array of buildings massive, elegant and adapted to all the growing needs of a first-class college. It encloses within its precincts a six hundred-acre plot and is a little world in itself. It is self-governing, self-sustaining and presents all the charm of sylvan environment, yet possessing all modern conveniences. The principal buildings are arranged in a semi-circle with a frontage of eleven hundred feet. A beautiful white stone church occupies the center of the group. To the east is the convent and to the north is the normal training school for those who aspire to become members of the community. A dormitory to house the students, a conservatory of music, a gymnasium and natatorium are all elegant structures and form a part of the whole, to say nothing of the pharmacy, laundry, bakery, power house, kitchen and other buildings. Every summer the sisters return to this mother house at St. Mary's of the Woods

from the cities in which they have been engaged during the scholastic year. A regular normal institute is conducted there, during which lecture courses and studio work by eminent educators, professors and artists are given. A new college hall known as the Ann Therese Guerin hall now houses the college students who desire professional training. Normal courses of three years are also maintained with special courses along all lines for those who care to specialize. The work being done at St. Mary's of the Woods is now up to the standard of the best colleges in the United States. First chartered, as has been said, to confer degrees in the college work, the power was confirmed and extended in 1908 by the legislature of Indiana. St. Mary's of the Woods is accredited as a standard college by the Indiana State Department of Education and is affiliated with the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.

In the crypt beneath the main altar of the church now repose the hallowed remains of Sister Guerin, founder and leader in this great work. With a little stretch of the imagination one could imagine himself in the Catacombs underlying Rome as he slowly follows the winding passages to this little tomb of so noble a woman. The air of quiet reverence and sanctity pervaded the whole atmosphere and for a few minutes one loses himself in thought of the power that enabled Sister Guerin to undertake such a great work, so far away from her home, in an alien land, among unknown people.

During the last scholastic year there were about two hundred students at St. Mary's of the Woods. These Sisters of Providence now have twenty-nine missions. Aside from the school work the Sisters of Providence are engaged throughout the country in hospitals, where as nurses they are devoting their lives to nursing the sick back to health. Many are also engaged in charity work of one kind or another while many are caring for the orphans in Catholic asylums, scattered here and there.

On the whole the Sisters of Providence are exercising a far-reaching influence, doing noble work along educational, religious, and charitable lines in many different communities and, while their accomplishments are not heralded abroad,

nevertheless results prove their courage, self-sacrifice, and perseverance.

The University of Notre Dame traces its humble origin back to 1842. Father Sorin with seven brothers of The Holy Cross set out for a new location of their school. For a year previous the Holy Cross Community was located at St. Peter's about twenty-seven miles from Vincennes in Daviess county. It had been in contemplation to erect a college at this point but as there was already a Catholic college at Vincennes, the bishop demurred and offered the community a tract of land he owned on the St. Joseph river, provided a college should be erected there within two years. After consideration the brothers accepted and set out for the new place. After travelling through the wilderness in bitterly cold weather they stood on the ice-bound shore of lake St. Mary, November 26, enchanted with the marvelous beauties of the scene of their future labors. The total amount of money at the command of the young community on its arrival at the lakes, was \$1,500. Material and labor were volunteered and a log structure, 24 x 46 feet, was erected in December, but was not dedicated until March 19, 1843. But this building was needed for other purposes than a chapel and a second story was added as a dormitory for the sisters, who were expected to arrive from France the same spring to take charge of the domestic department of the university and a little Indian chapel, erected by Father Badin about 1830, was utilized as a dormitory for the brothers. The exchequer was exhausted and 1842 passed without the erection of the contemplated building. A square house, now known as the farm house was erected at the edge of the lake, in 1843. This served for collegiate purposes for nearly a year, the first pupil being Alexis Coquillard, afterward the wealthy wagon-maker of South Bend. The terms per quarter for students were fixed at eighteen dollars for tuition, board, washing and mending. Like all other institutions, the growth was gradual and in 1844 the legislature gave Notre Dame university power to grant degrees. Literature and oratory have been cultivated from the very beginning at Notre Dame, dramatic and debating clubs were formed and many were the

orations heard even in its early days. Father Sorin (1842-1865) was the first president of Notre Dame and Father Patrick Dillon the second (1865-1866). The present president is Father Cavanaugh. There are now six distinct colleges at Notre Dame offering twenty-two different courses. It is making great progress in arts, letters, science, engineering, architecture and law, and possesses the latest and most complete equipment. The main library has 75,000 volumes and 16,000 manuscripts. In the general museum the historical collection is especially noteworthy and valuable. Notre Dame is doing for the American youth what St. Mary's of the Woods is doing for American girls; to give them a thorough understanding of secular training added to an appreciation for the religious side, which makes for the broadest possible culture.

Located one mile west of Notre Dame is St. Mary's Academy conducted by sisters of the Holy Cross. It was established by Father Sorin also in 1844, in Bertram, Michigan. In 1855 the community moved from Bertram to St. Mary's in St. Joseph county, Indiana, the present site of the mother-house of the Sisters of the Holy Cross. In 1857, the union of temporal interests between Notre Dame and St. Mary's was severed and a separate administration has been maintained ever since, though by special privilege Rev. E. Sorin was allowed to act as ecclesiastical superior over both congregations, that composed of the priests and brothers and that of the Sisters of the Holy Cross. About this time Mother M. Angela, a woman imbued with the highest religious aspirations and endowed with rare mental gifts was elected provincial and until her death in 1887, she held the office. Today St. Mary's Academy is a city in itself including a system of buildings, connected yet distinct, embodying college, academy, music hall, convent, loretto, presbytery, infirmary, laundry, etc. It is built in the form of a T and every room is an outside room with an abundance of daylight and fresh air. The course of studies is as extensive, long and thorough as long experience in teaching and a large and capable staff can make it. The degree of excellence attained at St.

Mary's in the musical and art departments has long been recognized by people all over the country. While special attention is given to the fine arts, they are not cultivated to the neglect of the practical sciences, as a visit to the classes of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry would fully demonstrate, no pains having been spared to secure a physical cabinet worthy the name and as a result, the academy at St. Mary's has a collection of instruments from the best manufacturing establishments of Europe for illustrating the laws of sound, light, electricity, heat and magnetism as well as the principles of mechanics. The Sisters of the Holy Cross at St. Mary's have three objects: education, the care of the sick, and the care of the orphans. St. Mary's is constantly growing and bids fair to become one of the largest Catholic institutions in the United States.

The convent of the Franciscan Fathers at Oldenburg came into being under its present name August 7, 1866. It is located in Franklin county, Indiana, and in 1868 a class of clerics belonging to the same province took up their residence here in order to pursue their studies in preparation for the holy priesthood. The convent of the Sisters of St. Francis, at Oldenburg was established in 1850 by Rev. F. J. Rudolph. On January 6, 1851, the first steps were taken towards the founding of a teaching community with the auspicious aid of Sister M. Theresa. She became its first superior general under the title of Mother. The old convent was reconstructed in 1899-1901. The community has advanced steadily, though under great difficulties. The mother-house at Oldenburg consists of the convent proper, the novitiate, the infirmary, the academy and other buildings. At present (1916) Oldenburg numbers seventy-three mission schools in which 13,500 children are educated. These schools are located mainly in Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Kentucky and Kansas. The mother general always has been and still is its president with the directress as vice-president. In 1876 the conservatory of music was added to the academy building.

The grounds at Oldenburg comprise 400 acres and the church which was built at a cost of \$80,000 is one of the

finest structures in the State. In 1900 a new convent was completed and dedicated; the same year the community of St. Francis Sisters celebrated their golden jubilee. The efficiency of this school has been recognized by the Indiana State Board of Education and its normal department has been accredited by the State Teachers' Training Board.

Grand Prairie Harmonical Institute

By HARRY EVANS, Superintendent of Warren County Schools

IN 1851 a company of people who felt that their best interests could be better served by a community form of living, organized the "Grand Prairie Harmonical Institute," or, as it was more generally known, "The Community Farm." This was located in Prairie township, Warren county, Indiana, where William Goodacre now lives. This farm at one time comprised about 350 acres. It was the intention of the founders of the institution to teach handicraft, especially blacksmithing, carpentry and allied trades, and to allow students to work their way through the school.

The country was entirely new, much of the soil was still covered with the native verdure; game was plentiful, deer, geese, ducks, cranes and prairie chickens could be seen in great numbers at almost any season of the year. Their attempt, at this distance, seems unique. An unimproved country where there was little need of skilled labor was to become the seat of an institution of learning where the pupils were to be taught various trades. To us it seems that such an attempt was the limit of the visionary. The Transcendentalists at the Brook Farm in Massachusetts and the Owen experiment at New Harmony seem now to have been as vague as this little colony set down in the midst of a vast prairie country with no neighbors and no demand for their work.

The first president and one of the moving spirits in the enterprise was John O. Wattles, a man who had a more than ordinary education and who had spent some time at New Harmony, where he may have imbibed some of the communistic ideas of the Owens's. The Wattles family consisted of Mr. and Mrs. Wattles and their three daughters, Lucretia Celestia, Harmonia and Pheano (or Theanna, as it is spelled in a deed). Lucretia Celestia was born at "Fryback Hall," an institution similar to the Harmonical Institute and located in Pine township, a few miles east of the "Community Farm." She had a right to such a name, for her mother had travelled

all day in the rough conveyance of that time and had reached Fryback Hall in the evening. That night, during a most severe storm, the little one made her entrance into the world about two o'clock in the morning.

Horace Greeley was said to have been a silent member of the Grand Prairie Harmonical Institute company, one deed showing him to be a trustee. John Gass, father of Will Gass, of Attica, was another prominent member and at one time the treasurer. Alvin High, Cyrus Romine and a number of others were connected with the movement. The school was managed by a board of trustees, of whom Ida Greeley, Thomas Truesdale, Alvin High and John Gass were the last to hold office. For a time a number of families seemed to have lived the common life, but, like all such experiments, it failed. While the race is gregarious, there must be a certain amount of rivalry to make life a success. We seem to need the stimulus of competition to spur us on to do the best that is in us. Whatever the cause of failure in this particular experiment of community living, it lasted little more than a year.

The property remained in the hands of the trustees for nearly twenty years, when an order from the United States District Court for Indiana gave possession of the land to Mrs. Wattles. The family had been away for some time, going to Kansas, where Mr. Wattles had tried to carry out his favorite idea of common living. After his death, which occurred about the beginning of the Civil War, his widow, desiring to educate her children, moved to Oberlin, Ohio, where she placed them in the college at that place. Later she sold to Isaac C. Anderson and James McDaniel the land the court had decreed to her and thus ended another altruistic experiment.

For years the "Community House" was a noted landmark. Its site on the top of what was the highest ridge of land anywhere near made it conspicuous. Then there is always a sort of charm and at least a little air of mystery about such a place. Fancy may build golden dreams of higher forms of life where competition shall be forever banished, rivalry unknown and the Golden Rule the measure of our actions.

Reviews and Notes

CENTENNIAL PAGEANTS

DURING September and October a number of successful Centennial Pageants were given in the State. At Huntingburg, September 22, the Dubois County Pageant was given under the direction of Genevieve MacDonald Williams, George R. Wilson acting as historian. The five episodes were "The French and Indians at Vincennes," "The Pioneers," "Captain Dubois," "County History," "Union Soldiers." The Huntingburg papers have published a large amount of local history, and a number of historical markers have been erected at historical spots in the county by local societies, assisted by Mr. Wilson.

September 7, at Cannelton, the Perry County Pageant was held. Thomas J. de la Hunt was county chairman, wrote the pageant and staged it, city and county supporting him loyally. The episodes were: "Arrival of Pioneer Settlers," "News from the War of 1812," "Landing of Lincoln Family at Troy," "Lafayette's Steamboat Wreck at Rock Island," "Training Day," "Cannelton Cotton Mills," "Swiss Colonization Society," "Confederate Invasion," "Celebration at End of War." The county papers, especially the Cannelton *Telephone*, published a number of good historical articles, and the Women's Club of Cannelton dedicated a marker at Lafayette Springs in honor of Lafayette.

September 21, New Albany celebrated the Centennial in a Pageant on the banks of Silver Creek. The Pageant was written and directed by Prin. Charles B. McLinn. The episodes were, "The Indians and LaSalle," "Clark at Corn Island," "The Pioneers," "The Wedding," "Passing of the Settlers," "The Indian Attack," the "Circuit Rider," and the "Governor's Ball."

October 5, 6, and 7, White county celebrated with a Pageant in a beautiful, natural amphitheatre on the banks of the Tippecanoe at Monticello. Supt. James M. Leffel was chairman of the centennial association, Miss Emma B. Shealey

was pageant master and W. H. Hamelle, historian. The episodes were, "The Indian," "The Pioneer," "The State," and "The Civil War." The display of relics was most surprising and interesting. The Monticello papers aided by publishing a goodly number of historical articles prepared by Mr. Hamelle.

The New Purchase or Seven and a Half Years in the Far West. BY ROBERT CARLTON, (BAYNARD R. HALL) edited by JAMES ALBERT WOODBURN, Professor of American History, Indiana University, 1916; Princeton, Princeton University Press. pp. 522 (\$2.00).

BAYNARD HALL, the writer of the volume, was the first and only principal of the Indiana Seminary which from 1824 to 1829 preceded Indiana College. The volume describes his trip to, and work in and around Bloomington from the spring of 1823 to the fall of 1830. The title of the book, *The New Purchase*, is misleading, since he only made two brief journeys into that part of the State. The towns named and referred to, Bloomington, Gosport, Palestine, Salem, Fairplay, Spencer and Vincennes, are not in the New Purchase. There is only one sufficient argument for a new edition of the story, but that argument is enough. As a picture of pioneer life in Indiana it is unequalled, and must necessarily always remain so. Mr. Hall qualified for writing the story by entering fully into the pioneer life around him. He saw and was broad-minded enough to appreciate the sterling character of the settlers. He was also frank enough to point out the unattractive features. The picture is not a burst of sunlight on the snow but a mixture of light and shadow, the light tempered with humor and the shadow tempered with sympathy. The history and geography of the story are so carefully veiled with fictitious names that one can only be sure of his location after careful comparisons. Hoosier character, customs, politics, churches, schools, and home life all come in turn, before the camera. The style of the author is not uniform. At times he is poetic, at times he approaches the humor of Twain but through it all, shows the life training of the man, he cannot help but point a moral. The editorial work consists of an

historical introduction and a few notes. One must admire the restraint of the editor, for almost every sentence of Hall is a fit text for a lecture. The book has always been a great favorite with the editor and it can easily be believed then that the editorial work was a pleasure. However, it is unfortunate that, by oversight, the author's notes were not distinguished from the editor's. Altogether the book is one of the most valuable sources on Indiana history, the more valuable because of the character of the writer and his remarkable opportunity for observation. Every library and school in Indiana should have a copy of this rare old book. (For a fuller description of this book see an article entitled "Local Life and Color in the New Purchase" in this magazine, December, 1913, by Professor James Albert Woodburn.)

Mount Vernon, Washington's Home and the Nation's Shrine.

BY PAUL WILSTACH, 1916. New York, Doubleday, Page and Company. pp. 301.

THIS volume might be termed a personal biography of Washington, as distinguished from that class of biographies which, under title of a personal name, give the history of an era. From Mr. Wilstach's pages one gets the impression of a more than ordinarily beneficent and public spirited farmer but still only what one might expect as the highest type of the Virginia planter. It is fortunate that Mr. Wilstach has not felt himself called upon to besmirch his portrait in order to make it human. There is a deeper significance in this volume. It is a detailed story of the building up of a great home. Washington farmed largely for enjoyment. Mount Vernon was built up as a place where one would wish to live. In a very emphatic way it shows what is possible in greater or less degree on every farm. Finally this volume should increase the regard Americans have for their first President. A little more sentiment of the kind will not be apt to hurt most Americans. The volume is beautifully illustrated—there being fifty cuts, many of them full page. On the front cover is a picture of the Mount Vernon mansion in white, on a blue color, surrounded with gilt.

North Carolina Schools and Academies, 1790-1840—A Documentary History. BY CHARLES L. COON. 1915. Raleigh, The State. pp. 846.

IN 1908 Mr. Coon published a two-volume documentary history of the *Beginnings of Public Education in North Carolina*. The present volume is supplementary to the former. In his first volumes the author treated especially of the support of schools in the public opinion of the times, while the last volume contains materials illustrating their management and every-day conduct. A few of the division heads will show the nature of the material and also how similar conditions there were to those in Indiana a generation or two later: Documents concerning the State Univeristy, its Relations and Influence; Physical Equipment of the Schools; Qualifications of Teachers; Course of Study; Religious Instruction; Methods, Lancastrian Schools; Closing School; Military Schools; Lotteries for the Benefit of Schools; Salaries; Law Schools; and Beginnings of Colleges. An introduction of forty-five pages gives the reader a connected idea of the whole. The documents are collected from various sources but chiefly from the newspapers, a very large proportion being from the *Raleigh Register*. The editorial work and the printing are good, showing the value of having such work done by one who understands the subject.

THE HOOSIER

THE Writers' Club conceived the idea of this magazine last spring. The members of the club felt that if a magazine were to be started at Indiana University it ought to have the backing of an organization. Theirs was the logical organization. The Writers' Club has been social as well as literary in its nature, but this fall it began the policy of electing new members on the basis of literary merit alone. The student who will send in three articles worthy of being published in *The Hoosier* is eligible to membership. On this basis it has already elected three new members: Miss Ethel Knapp, Richard George Scribner, and Lawrence Wheeler. If at some later time the Writers' Club wishes to resume its social character it will turn the management of the magazine over to an edi-

torial board. At present it is a working literary organization, and its motto is, as O. Henry would say, "Strictly Business." The criticism that it is a closed shop is utterly unfounded. *The Hoosier* is published at the University Press at Bloomington, Indiana, on the first of each month during the college year, by the Writers' Club of Indiana University. The aim of *The Hoosier* is to furnish a medium of expression for the literary life of the University, and its columns are open to undergraduates, alumni, and members of the faculty. The subscription price is one dollar per year; single copies are fifteen cents each.

Courts and Lawyers of Indiana. By LEANDER J. MONKS. Editor in Chief; LOGAN ESAREY and ERNEST V. SHOCKLEY, Assistant Editors. Indianapolis, Federal Publishing Company, 1916. Three vols., pp. lxxv + 384, 527, 526. Illustrated.

The volumes are continuously paged. The first 535 pages contain a connected history of the State and territorial judiciary, divided into 22 chapters. These chapters deal with such topics as Courts of the Northwest Territory; Courts of Indiana Territory; The Old Circuit Courts; The Circuit Riders; Juries, Prosecutors and Witnesses; Minor Courts; Incidents and Anecdotes of Pioneer Courts; The Old Supreme Court, etc. The second division of the work contains detailed accounts of the organization of the county courts, lists of judges and prosecutors, circuits, attorney-generals, federal judges and United States Attorneys, with dates for each. This part occupies 600 pages. The third division contains the biographies of the leading lawyers of the State, living and dead. These biographies, about 1,000 in number, have been reduced to the briefest possible form. The aim throughout has been to show the part the courts have played in the development of the State and the relation the lawyers have sustained to society in general. The writers have covered the field fairly well. The editor-in-chief is a lawyer of over a half century's experience, having served 18 years on the supreme bench. His assistants are both college trained men, all Hoosiers, and all alumni of Indiana University. The work

has been as carefully done as time would permit. Documentary records have been used freely both for State and county courts. The statistical tables have been compiled in every case directly from the manuscript records. Some errors in the tables are due to hasty proofreading; for example on page 306 George W. Self is credited with preparing 63 volumes of the *Supreme Court Reports* instead of 14; on page 384 the same reporter should be credited with volumes 34 to 48 instead of 34 to 58; page 222 of the Supreme Court docket is printed upside down. On the whole it seems few mistakes of this kind have been made. The authors have not hesitated to criticise where it seemed merited nor to praise where it was deserved. An instance of the former is given by way of example on page 526 *seq.*; of the latter, chapter IV is a worthy tribute to the old Circuit Riders. The general tone of the book is modest. In most instances the writers have been content to let the record speak for itself. The volumes are neatly printed on good paper, tastefully bound in half leather and are provided with an excellent index which renders the vast amount of details easily accessible.

French Policy and the American Alliance. By EDWARD S. CORWIN, Princeton University. Princeton, 1916. 430 pp.

This book is a history of our first and perhaps only entangling alliance. The first six chapters are devoted to a treatment of motives, underlying conditions and preliminaries of the alliance. The other ten chapters are devoted to an analysis of the treaty itself, to the attempts of the Americans and French to bring Spain into the alliance, to the French-Spanish alliance of the following year and its conflicts with the French-American treaty, and finally to the relations of the latter treaty to the treaties of peace of 1782-1783. The author does not deal with the attempts made by France at times during the first decade of our national government to argue that the treaty of alliance was still in force, but treats it as ending with the event of American Independence.

While perhaps every statement of fact and every conclusion set forth in the present book has appeared before in secondary works, no single author has attempted to cover precisely the

same field or would agree with all the statements and conclusions of the present author. The present work is, however, no mere bringing together of facts already ascertained by other historians. Everything has been verified and the sources cited. Controverted topics, such as the French desire for ultimate recovery of her possession on the American continent, French desire for American commerce, French desire to make secure her possessions in the West Indies and Vergennes' degree of unfaithfulness to his treaty obligations are all judiciously discussed as controverted subjects, so that the reader may know whenever he is reading of things substantially agreed upon by all or otherwise. At such times other viewpoints are explained, evidences weighed and liberal quotations given from the principal actors in the game.

In comparison to some other treatments of phases of this subject, the author might be said to take his view from Paris, making Vergennes the center or clue to the plot. This effect is in some respects the most valuable contribution that the author has brought. Without attempting to show his learnedness by leading the reader through too much of the maze of Eighteenth century diplomacy, he shows an understanding of the relations of the different countries of the world in the Eighteenth century and to that thing that the diplomats called the balance of power. The author succeeds in getting himself sufficiently up above his subject to get a survey of world movements and relations. He thus gets the American end of this whole thing in its proper perspective and proportion. The part played by American statesmen in drawing France into the alliance and in determining its interpretation and observance is shown to be distinctly limited, and dependent upon other interests and considerations of European statesmen. French diplomats believed that France was entitled to be the pivot upon which the balance of power should turn. This balance was somewhat upset at the Peace of Paris and could be restored by reducing England's relative position. This could be done by helping to deprive her of her colonies—her source of wealth and power. This must, however, not be done at the expense of disturbing the balance in some other way in Europe, as for instance neglecting or weakening the Family Compact with Spain. Hence all the bidding for Spanish favor

and support. Hence the French-American treaty at times apparently becomes secondary to the French-Spanish alliance.

The work has been scientifically done. There are not only references to writers who disagree from the author's viewpoint, as well as to writings of the chief diplomats and agents concerned, but there is an attempt to get at the motives of the latter for writing particular things—realizing that a diplomat may sometimes be writing or talking to mislead. The references to Doniol alone make a pretty good guide to that work. There is a brief, critical bibliographical note, an appendix of twenty-eight pages containing copies of the treaties of 1778 and 1782 as well as four other interesting documents. The index is adequate.

THE MAGAZINE is glad to publish the following letter from the author of *Historic Indiana*, that it may correct any false impression obtained from the review in the last number of the magazine in which the reviewer spoke of the explorations of Lasalle in Indiana:

"Before the second edition of the book was issued, following the implied suggestion of Mr. Parkman, I entered into the subject [Lasalle's expedition] with Canadian authorities, but they ended by regretting the loss of the explorer's papers. When I was in France the last time I hoped to be able to avail myself of the promised help of the department of research, to examine the archives of State, for light on this period of Lasalle's life, and possible data regarding the discovery of the Wabash. Unfortunately, serious illness in my family prevented my research at that time, and I have not been in Paris since.

Is there not enough probability in Mr. Parkman's impressions of a "possible lead" to an important historical fact for some of you younger historians to keep it in mind, and make the investigations, on which I had started, whenever the future may open up an opportunity? It was to incite some one to this search that the paragraph referred to by the reviewer was included in the chapter.

No one has a more profound regard for exact scholarship than the writer. When the old Librarian at New Orleans wrote to me, several years ago, to say that he had found the book entirely reliable and the story based on exact data, that voluntary approval from a stranger who was such an old student of Northwestern history was very encouraging as is your recognition of the same fact that the author has not neglected to avail herself of the authorities, and I may add, the original sources of the State's history.

As stated in the preface to the first edition, the book was written to

enlist the interest of those who might not read the histories, and yet should know the story of their State's development, hence facts and dates were not insisted upon. But the author had a conscience regarding the foundation facts assumed, that they must be accurate. I hope you may keep the question of Lasalle's first years of journeying in mind, and find what the archives of France, and his native village, have to reveal."

THIS MAGAZINE is in receipt of three souvenir post cards by Emma Carleton, each containing two stanzas of poetry which are worth preserving. Each card bears an illustration suitable to the sentiment.

HOME OF MY HEART

Where the broad river shining flows
Through the wide valley's rich repose,
'Neath the green hills—oh—fair to see!
Dear busy town—New Albany!

In Time's far distance—brighter still—
'Neath bluer skies and greener hill—
Blest quiet ways, fond memory's haze—
New Albany of other days!

ON SILVER HILLS

Up the green valley, break-of-day
Bids the night shadows fly away;
Fair the fields glisten—born anew
To life and beauty—song and dew.

Down the green valley sunset dies—
The full moon glows—a late bird flies—
Peace, like a pure thought, broods afar;
O'er the sweet hill-top hangs a star.

INDIANA

O Indiana, to mine eyes thou art a star;
Long years ago my kinsmen followed thee afar;
Through wilds and woods they toiled to seek in thee a home;
For thee they fought, and helped to rear thy beauteous dome.

True daughter would I be, and honor thee, my State;
I kneel before thee; thou art good and thou art great;
Thy deeds are noble and thy aims are all divine,
O Indiana, to my soul thou art a shrine.

ST. JOSEPH'S COLLEGE, as a part of its quarter centennial celebration, has issued a neat little pamphlet of sixty-five pages, giving an account of the founding and remarkable growth of the college. Twenty-five years ago the campus of the college was an unattractive swamp; now it is one of the most beautiful campuses in the State, comprising about nine hundred and fifty acres. The pamphlet is illustrated with cuts of the various buildings and portraits of the presidents of the college.

Irish Pioneers in Kentucky is the title of a pamphlet of sixty pages composed of fourteen articles written by Michael J. O'Brien, originally appearing in the *Gaelic American* of New York. The whole problem which Mr. O'Brien attacks is one of great difficulty. The Germans, English, Irish and Scotch were so intermingled by the time they reached the Ohio Valley, there was so much mixture by marriage, such a confusion in the changing and misspelling of names, so much carelessness among the pioneers themselves concerning their family history, that nothing short of expert investigation of the official records (which are very scanty) will ever throw much light on the question. There has been a tendency for the Scotch-Irish and Germans to preempt this field, but the fact certainly remains that a large number of the pioneers of the Ohio Valley were Irish. It is possible that they equalled or outnumbered the Scotch or Germans. At any rate, Mr. O'Brien has brought together a large array of evidence to support his contention.

THE *Transactions of the Forty-First Annual Reunion of the Oregon Pioneer Association for 1913* contains an account of the trip to Oregon in 1852 by Jane D. Kellogg and her husband. The party started from Elkhart, Indiana, March 17, 1852, and reached Portland, October 22, 1852. It is one of the best brief stories of an Oregon trip that has come to my notice.

JOSEPH H. NEWBY of Randolph, Kansas, is at work on a genealogy of the Newby Folks. Many of the members of the family live in Indiana. His old home is in Hamilton county.

Reminiscences of Thomas T. Newby is the title of a fifty-page pamphlet recently published by Mr. Newby at Carthage. The author's father, Henry Newby, came to the neighborhood of Carthage almost a century ago and his descendants still live there. The *Reminiscences* are full of pioneer flavor and incident. Such chapters as "Tharp's Barn," "Clearing Land," "Keeping Fire," "Cider Mills," "The Latch String," "Sugar Making," and "The Tanyard" are both valuable as history and interesting as literature. The writer makes no pretense to fine writing but nevertheless draws his pictures with a firm, accurate hand.

A Brief History of Switzerland County is the title of a twenty-page pamphlet prepared by the senior class of 1913 of the Vevay High school, Miss Julia Leclercq Knox, principal. The frontispiece is a full page portrait of Aunt Julia Detraz (1806-1903), said to be the first white child born in the county. Other illustrations are of the courthouse, schoolhouse, bank, steamer "City of Louisville," Eggleston's home, and "Horeshoe Bend," a picturesque place near Vevay. The pamphlet contains a great deal of information concerning this quaint city and county, one of the most attractive spots in the State.

Pioneer Recollections of Early Indiana is the title of a much too brief pamphlet by James W. Sansbury. "My recollection," says the writer, "goes back to 1830. I then lived between Knightstown and Carthage and used to ride 'Old Jin' to Hill's Mill where Carthage now is. Mush and milk was the daily and healthy diet. When cooked instead of taking it up in dishes, the mush pot was set out in the middle of the floor and with tin cup and spoons the family gathered around, each one helping himself by dipping his spoon into the pot and taking out his mush and placing it in his cup of milk;" so runs the ten pages of the brief pamphlet.

THE *Minutes of the Eighty-Fifth Annual Session of the Indiana Conference* of the Methodist Church for 1916 contains an unusual amount of historical data. Two maps facing each other show the circuits and districts of 1816 and 1916. The circuits and stations have grown from seven to two hun-

dred and ninety-nine during the century. Among the well-known ministers who have died the past year are William M. Zaring of Indianapolis and Dr. J. P. D. John of Greencastle.

The State University Library has been trying for a number of years to secure a set of *Conference Minutes* but so far has failed. The editor has learned of several sets sold recently as waste paper. The library would very much appreciate any and all material of this character.

THE SURVEY is in receipt of some valuable historical materials from Mrs. Fannie Knowlton Baker of Indianapolis. Her father, Judge Knowlton, was prominent in Indiana during and after the War and the materials are from his papers and collections.

THIS MAGAZINE is in receipt of four pamphlets from the librarian of the Henry Henly Public Library of Carthage. Two of them are school reports, one for 1886, the other for 1906; the third is a souvenir of the Methodist Church containing not only a history of the church but much valuable data on the early history of the city. The fourth, a *History of the First Fifty Years of Carthage and Vicinity*, by Mrs. Caroline A. Clark, is a twenty-page pamphlet full of the details of the early settlement and progress of the town and neighborhood. It is written in commemoration of the centennial and it is hoped enough were printed to furnish at least each school child of Carthage with a copy.

The Home and School Visitor is offering a good assortment of Hoosier stories this year. The October number has an article by Prof. F. S. Bogardus on "The Lost Nation"; one on "Indiana" by W. S. Goble; one on "One Hundred Years of Indiana" by George S. Cottman; one on "Maids and Mothers of the Revolution" by Sarah R. Cristy; one on "Johnny Appleseed" by Vida T. Cottman; and one on "Down to New Orleans" by Logan Esarey.

THE *History Teacher's Magazine* for September contains an article by J. W. Oliver of the State Library. It was first read to the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at Nash-

ville. Mr. Oliver's subject is "Position of the Historian in Statehood Centennials."

PERSONS interested in Northwestern History will appreciate the article on Peter de Smet, the famous missionary in the September *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*.

THE *Catholic Historical Review* for October contains an interesting account of the original owners of the grounds on which the Capital at Washington is built. The writer, Margaret Brent Downing, calls it the American Capitoline.

THE *American Historical Review* for October contains three articles of interest to Indiana readers: "Swiss Emigration to the American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century" by A. B. Faust; "The Influence of Manufactures Upon Political Sentiment in the United States from 1820 to 1860" by Victor Clark; and "The Cow Country" by Frederic L. Paxton.

THE *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* for September, among other interesting articles, concludes the one on the life of Gen. Benjamin Logan and one on the famous Blair family. In the latter article is a history of President Jackson's famous address to South Carolina.

THE two important articles in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* are "The Opening of the Des Moines Valley to Settlement," by Jacob Van der Zee, and the second installment of Ruth Gallaher's "Indian Agents of Iowa."

THE *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for September has an article on "Verendrye" by Orin G. Libby; one on the "Function of Military History," by A. L. Conger; "The Organization of the British Fur Trade," by Wayne Stevens; and the annual review of "Historical Activities in Canada," by L. J. Burpee.

IN the *Minnesota History Bulletin* for August is an account of the Michigan exhibit at the Crystal Palace Exhibition, New York, 1853, written by William G. Le Duc.

Bulletin Five, Michigan Historical Commission, is a tourist's guide to Macinac Island. On a well-made map all the historic spots are located and in the accompanying text described. Most of these places have appropriate markers.

THE *Maryland Historical Magazine* for September continues the publication of the "Journal of the Committee of Observation of the Middle District of Frederick County, Maryland." This was an executive committee of the county during the Revolution. It was in close communication with the Continental Congress.

THE *Pennsylvania Magazine of History* for July continues the "Journal of John Sharpe." Under the heading "Letters of More Than Local Interest" are letters to Wayne, from Washington to General Hand, from Washington to Bushrod Washington, some of which are quite valuable.

THREE articles of general interest in the 1916 *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* are "The Old Barracks at Princeton," by E. R. Walker; "Beginnings of the Morris and Essex Railroad," by J. F. Folsom, and "Caspar Steinmetz and His Descendants," by P. H. Hoffman.

THE October *North Carolina Booklet* has, under the heading "Historic Homes," a description of The Fountain, the home of Col. William Davenport. It was such homes as this that many pioneer Indianians tried to create. The Colonel himself is an ideal of the old-fashioned Hoosier farmer.

THE *William and Mary College Quarterly* for October is taken up largely with genealogical material concerning the Rowland, Tatham, Tanner, Downing, Branch, Armistead, Thornton, Alexander and Randolph families.

THE *Virginia Magazine of History* for October continues the publication of the "Minutes of the Council and General Court for 1622-1629." These papers are from the Library of Congress. It is also beginning the publication of the letters of William Byrd, a fairly well-known character in early western history.

THE *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* for October contains "Stockton's Proclamation to the San Diego Insurgents," by Thomas M. Marshall, and an article on "Sam Houston and Williamson Oldham," by E. W. Winkler.

VOLUME I, No. 2, *Richmond College Historical Papers* for 1916 contains accounts of the elections of 1855 and 1860 in Virginia, the former by Constance Mary Gay, the latter by Margaret Kean Monteiro. "The Virginia Loyalists, 1775-1783," is the title of an article by John Alonza George.

THE *Tennessee Historical Magazine* for September contains an excellent article by Archibald Henderson on "Richard Henderson: The Authorship of the Cumberland Compact and the Founding of Nashville."

THE most interesting paper for Indiana readers in the October number of *The Essex Institute Historical Collections* is by Francis B. C. Bradlee on "The Eastern Railroad." This was one of the pioneer railroads of the United States.

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